

EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN

Down to the Mahomedan Conquest

BY

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In this second edition of the "Early History of the Dekkan," I have embodied the results of fresh researches published by others and myself within the last ten years. Some of my own have, however, been laid before the public now for the first time in this book.

R G B

Poona, 10th January, 1895

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

After finishing his book on "Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems" in the Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research, my revered father very much wanted to bring out a revised edition of his "Early History of the Dekkan." But multifarious engagements and continued ill-health prevented him from carrying it out. He asked me in his last wishes to bring out a third edition with notes and indicated what important records had been published since the last edition. I do not know how long I would have been unable to carry out this sacred task. But Chuckervertty, Chatterjee & Co., who are to India what Trübner & Co. are to Europe, of their own motion made proposals to me for the publication of the book, and the result is that this new edition with Notes is now before the scholarly public long before I expected it. It is true that much new material has been available since the publication of the second edition. But the main conclusions of the book from the period of the Early Chālukyas onwards have remained unshaken, and whatever changes are now required in reconstructing the history of the earlier period have been pointed out in the Notes.

The additional notes of the present (third) edition have been given at the end, and the text and notes of the second edition have been kept intact in the body of the book. It has not, however, been found possible to adhere to the pagination of the second edition. To facilitate reference, the paging of the second edition is given in bold type in square brackets in the body of the book.

D R BHANDARKAR

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	1—V
SECTION I —Etymology of the word Dekkan and its denotation	1—3
SECTION II —Settlement of the Āryas in the Dekkan	4—9
SECTION III —Approximate date of the Āryan settlement in the Dekkan and notices of Southern India in ancient Indian Literature and Inscriptions	10—22
SECTION IV —Political History of the Dekkan or Mahārāshṭra—Analysis of the historical inscriptions in the cave-temples of Western India	23—38
SECTION V —Native and Foreign Princes mentioned in the inscriptions Identification of the former with the Andhrabṛṣṭyas of the Puranas	39—41
SECTION VI —Chronology of the Andhrabṛṣṭyas or Śātavāhanas	42—63
SECTION VII —Political and literary traditions about the Śātavāhanas or Śālivāhanas	64—69
SECTION VIII —Religious, social, and economic condition of Mahārāshṭra under the Andhrabṛṣṭyas or Śātavāhanas	70—76
SECTION IX —Probable history of the period between the extinction of the Andhrabṛṣṭyas and the rise of the Chālukyas	77—81
SECTION X —The early Chālukyas	82—105
SECTION XI —The Rāshṭrakūṭas	106—135
SECTION XII —The later Chālukyas	136—159
SECTION XIII —The Kalachuris	160—169
SECTION XIV —The Yūdavas of Devagiri,— <i>early history of the family</i>	170—182
SECTION XV — Ditto ditto <i>later history</i>	183—209
SECTION XVI —The Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur	210—217
—	
APPENDIX A —Note on the Gupta Era	218—230
APPENDIX B —Note on the Śaka dates and the years of the Bārhaspatya cycle occurring in the inscriptions	231—237
APPENDIX C —Introduction to Hemādri's Vratākhaṇḍa, Rājapraśasti I	238—245
Ditto ditto II	245—247
NOTES	249

CORRECTIONS

<i>Page 38, line</i>	<i>7 from bottom, for</i>	<i>Vasishṭiputra</i>	<i>read</i>	<i>Vāsiṣṭhiputra</i>
„ 67 „ 5 „ „	„	„ Guṇādhya	„	„ Guṇādhya
„ 95 „ 9 „ „	„	„ Traikūṭaka	„	„ Traikūṭaka
„ 96 „ 9 „ top	„	„ Gurjara	„	„ Gūjara
„ 99 „ 19 „ „	„	„ Āśhāḍha	„	„ Āśhāḍha
„ 100 „ 23 „ „	„	„ Paṭṭadakal, <i>here as elsewhere</i>	„	„ Paṭṭadakal
„ 104 <i>ls</i> 6 & 2 „ „	„	„ Brahmanism	„	„ Brāhmanism
„ „ <i>line</i> 7 „ „	„	„ in the Southern	„	„ in Southern
„ 106 „ 4 „ „	„	„ Yadū	„	„ Yadu
„ III „ 18 „ „	„	„ Paṭṭhan, <i>here as elsewhere</i>	„	„ Paṭṭhan
„ 117 „ 13 „ „	„	„ Śīlāhāra	„	„ Sīlāhāra
„ 130 „ 12 „ „	„	„ Kālanjara	„	„ Kālañjara
„ 150 „ 13 „ „	„	„ Gaddaka, <i>here as elsewhere</i>	„	„ Gadag
„ 180 „ 13 „ bottom	„	„ Singhana	„	„ Singhana
„ 184 „ 15 „ „	„	„ Sūktimuktavali	„	„ Sūktimuktāvali
„ 185 „ 14 „ „	„	„ Sukt-, <i>here as elsewhere</i>	„	„ Sūkt-

EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN.

ADDITIONS AND FURTHER CORRECTIONS

P 62, footnote 1, add at the end, Karhâd plates recently put into my possession and not yet published

P 63, line 35, after Wardhâ, here as well as everywhere henceforward except in l 14, p 75, add and Karhâd and make the necessary grammatical changes

P 67, line 30, after death, add The Karhâd charter represents the fire of his prowess to have burnt the Chûlul va race

P 73, line 23, after months, add In the Bhadan grant¹ the latter is represented to have reigned for a year

P 75, lines 6 and 7, for the sentence ending with dominions, substitute He expelled the prince Rachchivamallâ from the throne of the Ganga country and placed on it a person of the name of Bûtuga, or Bûtayya which name has been Sanskritized into Bhûtârya, and destroyed the Pallavas to whose race the Dantiga killed by him probably belonged

P 75, line 20, at the end add The Karhâd charter was issued in 880 Śaka, i.e., 18 years after the Wardhâ grant. It contains two stanzas more about Kṛṣṇa III than the latter, and these must in consequence be regarded as alluding to events which occurred between Śaka 862 and 880. As stated therein, to consolidate his power Kṛṣṇa deprived some of his feudatories of their principalities, and granted them to others who were meritorious, some were separated from each other and others joined together. "With the idea of conquering the south, he uprooted the Chola race, placed the territory ruled over by it under his own dependents, made the kings of the Chera, Pāṇḍya, and other countries along with Simhala or Ceylon his tributaries, and erected a triumphal column at Re(â)mesvara." In an inscription at Ātakûr in the Maisur territory, dated 872 Śaka, Kṛṣṇarâja is represented to have

¹ Published by Prof Kielhorn, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol III, p 271

fought with the Chola prince Râjâditya and killed him. In this last act he was assisted by Bâtuga, his Ganga feudatory mentioned above, and Gûtuga was rewarded for his services by being granted additional territory.² In a village in the Chingleput district of the Madras Presidency, which must have formed a part of the ancient kingdom of the Pallavas, there are two inscriptions dated in the seventeenth and nineteenth years of the reign of Kannaradeva, i.e. Krishnadeva, in which he is spoken of as the conqueror of Kachchî or Kâñchîpura the capital of the Pallavas and Tañjai identified with Tanjor (Tañjâvûr or Tañjâpura) which was the capital of the Chola princes. Another inscription at Vellore is dated in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, and there are two more containing his name in South Arcot³ which was probably included in the Chola kingdom. These facts bear out the statement in the Karhâḍ grant of his having uprooted the Chola race and held the country by placing it under his dependents, and another in this and the Wardhâ grant that the Pallavas were destroyed by him. This latter event, however, took place before Śaka 862 the date of the Wardhâ grant while the conquest of the Chola prince came on later. By the Karhâḍ charter which was issued on Wednesday the 13th of the dark half of Phâlguna when 880 years had elapsed since the time of the Śaka king, the cyclic year being *Kâlayukta*, Kṛishna granted,—while encamped at Melpâṭi with his victorious army for the purpose of apportioning the southern provinces among his dependents, taking charge of all the possessions of Arelesvara, and constructing temples to be dedicated to certain gods,—the village of Kaukûm in the district of Karahâṭaka to the great Śaiva ascetic Gaganasiva, who was the pupil of Îśānasiva and was conversant with the Śivasiddhântas or sacred books of the Śaiva sect, for the benefit of the whole group of ascetics. It would appear from this that Saivism flourished about the district of Karhîḍ at this period.

P 78, to the dates under Krishna III add 872, 880

² Epigraphia Indica, Vol II, pp 172-74

³ *Ib* Vol III, pp 282-85

Page	line	5 from bottom, for	Brâhmana	read	Brâhmana
„ 23	„ 24	„ top	„ Mysore	„	Maisur
„ 23	„ 27	from „	„ Salyaputta	„	Satīyaputta
„ 43	„ 9	„ „	„ Dakṣiṇâpatha	„	Dakṣiṇâpatha
„ 49	„ 5	„ „	„ Dakṣiṇâpatha	„	Dakṣiṇâpatha
„ 73	„ 23	from bottom, „	„ Kânara	„	Kânarâ
„ 79	„ 9	„ top	„ Râshṭrakûta	„	Râshṭrakûta
„ 80	„ 4	„ bottom, „	„ Lâṭ here as else- where	„	Lâṭa
„ 96	„ 21	from top for	Tajika	„	Tâjika
„ 98	„ 5	„ „ insert	date after latest		
„ III, footnote 18		„	IV	„	III
„ 120	„ 11	from top	„ Lâṭa	„	Lâṭa
„ 126	„ 21	„ „	„ Sâhâsanka	„	Sâhasânka
„ 157	„ 3	„ „	„ Kâkateya	„	Kâkatiya
„ 163	„ 3	„ „	„ Lūgâvata here as elsewhere	„	Lūgâyata
„ 184	„ 15	„ „	„ Jahlân's	„	Jahlâṇa s
„ 187	„ 1	„ bottom	„ यजार्जुन	„	ययार्जुन

EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN

INTRODUCTORY

INDIA has no written history. Nothing was known till within recent times of the political condition of the country, the dynasties that ruled over the different provinces which composed it, and the great religious and social revolutions that it went through. The historical curiosity of the people was satisfied by legends. What we find of a historical nature in the literature of the country before the arrival of the Mahomedans comes to very little.

I. We have a chronicle of Kāśmīr called the *Rājataranginī*, in which, however, there is a good deal which is not supported by contemporary evidence. Now and then, a bountiful prince or minister found a poet to sing his glories, and the works thus composed, contain a good deal of historical information, though, of course, an undue praise of the patron and his ancestors is to be expected. But a few such works only have hitherto been discovered, and the oldest of them gives an account of a prince who lived in the first half of the seventh century. The literature of the Jains of the Śvetāmbara sect contains accounts mostly of the later princes of Gujārāt and other noted personages. There are also similar accounts of the princes of Rājaputāna. In the beginning or at the end of some Sanskrit works the names of the princes under whose patronage or in whose reign they were composed, are given, and

Introductory sometimes we find a long genealogy of the family to which the particular prince belonged, with some short observation with reference to each of his ancestors. Lastly, the Purânas contain genealogies of the most powerful royal families which ascend to a higher antiquity than the works noticed hitherto.

II But the information to be gathered from all these sources is extremely meagre, and there are many provinces on the history of which they do not throw any light. And the facts mentioned in them cannot be systematically arranged, or even chronologically connected, except with the assistance of other sources of information to which we shall now proceed. The invasion of Alexander the Great brought the Greeks in contact with the Hindus, and his successors in Syria kept up an intercourse with the Indian emperors for a long time. The notices of Indian persons and events contained in the writings of the Greeks, when compared with the statements occurring in the Purânas, admit, in some cases, of an easy identification, and from the known dates of the corresponding Greek persons or events, we are able to determine those of the Indian persons or events. In this manner the date of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty by Chandragupta has been determined to be about 322 B C, and a good many other dates in Indian history have been ascertained. The writings of Chinese authors also throw a great deal of light on some periods of Indian history. Buddhism was introduced into China in the first century of the Christian era, and from time to time men from that country came to India as pilgrims, and some Indian Buddhists also must have found their way to China. The Chinese pilgrims wrote accounts of what they saw and did in India, and these works, which have come down to us, are

very valuable for the elucidation of Indian history. The Chinese possessed a perfect system of chronology, and the dates of the pilgrimages are useful for the purposes of the Indian antiquarian. Valuable accounts of India written by the Arabic visitors to the country in the Middle Ages have also become available.

III Another very important source, and fuller than any hitherto noticed, consists of inscriptions. Some of these are cut on stones or rocks, and others engraved on copperplates. These last are in all cases charters conveying grants of land made mostly by princes or chiefs to religious persons or to temples and monasteries. A great many of these are dated in one of the current eras. It is usual in these charters to give the pedigree of the grantor. The names of his ancestors together with some of their famous deeds are mentioned. As the authors who composed the grants cannot be expected to be impartial in their account of the reigning monarch, much of what they say about him cannot be accepted as historically true. And even in the case of his ancestors, the vague praise that we often find, must be regarded simply as meaningless. But when they are represented to have done a specific deed, such as the conquest of Harshavardhana by Pulakesi II of the early Chälukya dynasty, it must be accepted as historical, and when we have other sources available, we find the account confirmed, as Hsuan Thsang does that of Pulakesi's exploit. Even in the case of the reigning monarch, the specific deeds such as wars with neighbouring princes, which are mentioned, may be accepted as historical, though, however, legitimate doubts may be entertained as regards the reported results.

The stone-inscriptions are intended to commemo-

Introductory morate the dedication of a temple or monastery or any part thereof, and of works of public utility such as tanks and wells, and sometimes grants of land also. A good many of these benefactions are by private individuals, but not seldom the name of the king, in whose reign the dedication was made, is given together with the year of his reign, as well as the date in the current era. When it is a royal benefaction that is commemorated, we have a longer account of the reigning prince, and sometimes of his ancestors.

The great pioneer in the deciphering and interpretation of inscriptions was James Prinsep, but no great progress was made after him, in this branch of antiquarian work, till the establishment of the "Indian Antiquary" and the institution of the Archæological Survey. These gave a strong impetus to it, and many scholars entered into the field with zeal. Twenty years ago, it would have been impossible to write the following pages.

IV I must not omit to mention old coins as a valuable source of information as to the names of the successive monarchs of a dynasty, and sometimes their dates. A study of these too has led to very important results.

The materials for the history of the development of Indian thought and of changes in the social condition are the whole literature itself. But this is an independent inquiry with which we are not here directly concerned, and the conclusions arrived at are applicable to the whole Hindu race, and not to any particular province. I have consulted general literature only in discussing points concerning the Âryan settlement of the Dehlan. The materials used in the preparation of the other sections, which

fall under each of the four classes noticed above, are Introductory.
as follows

I—Bilhaṇa's Vīkramāṅkacharita, Introduction to the Vratākhaṇḍa, Introduction to Jahlāṇa's anthology, the Puraṇic genealogies, and scattered notices in the Kathā-saritsāgara, Hāla's Saptasatī, Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, Kavirahasya, Dīgambara Jaina works—such as the Hari-vamśa, the Uttara Purāṇa, the Yaśastilaka, the Praśnot-tararatnamālīkā &c—Vijñāneśvara's Mitāksharā, the Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi, the Basava Purāṇa, the Lekhapāñchāśikā, the Śabdārṇavachandrikā, the Jñāneś-vari, and a few others

II—Ptolemy's geography, the Periplus, Hwān Thsang's Itinerary

III—Inscriptions in the cave-temples of Western India, Rudradāman's inscription at Junāgaḍ, stone inscriptions in the Southern Maratha Country, copper-plate charters of the early Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūṭas, and other dynasties, of which we have now a large number

IV—Coins of the Śatavāhanas found at Kolhāpur and in the lower Godāvari district

Since the political history of the Dekkan before the advent of Mahomedans was entirely unknown before, and the difficulty of ascertaining facts is very great, my object has been to collect as many of them as possible. The absence of proportion in the space allotted to important and unimportant events due to this circumstance, will, it is hoped, be excused. This does not pretend to be a literary production, but merely a congeries of facts

SECTION I

ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD "DEKKAN" AND ITS DENOTATION

[1] THE word "Dakkhan" represents the vernacular pronunciation of the Sanskrit word Dakshina, meaning "southern," used to designate the portion of the Indian Peninsula lying to the south of the Narmadâ. The name more usually met with in Sanskrit works and elsewhere is Dakshinâpatha or "the Southern Region." That this name was in ordinary use in ancient times is shown by the fact that the author of the *Periplus* calls that portion of the country Dakkhinabades.¹ In the vernacular or Prâkṛit speech of the time, the Sanskrit Dakshinâpatha must have become Dakkhinâbadha or Dakkhinâvadha by the usual rules, and the Greek writer must have derived his name from this popular pronunciation. The shorter form of the name also must have been in use, since in the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era, Fah-Hian,² the Chinese traveller, was told at Benares that there was a country to the south called Ta-Thsin, which word corresponds to the Sanskrit Dakshina.

Dakshinâpatha or Dakshina was the name of the whole peninsula to the south of the Narmadâ. Among the countries enumerated in the *Mârkaṇḍeya*,³ *Vâyu*,⁴ and *Mâtṣya*⁵ Purâṇas as comprised in Dakshinâpatha

Section I
Etymology
of the word
"Dekhan"

Denotation
of the word
Dekhan

[1] Indicates page 1 of the original edition

¹ Indian Antiquary, VIII 143

² Travels of Fah-Hian by S. Beal, 139

³ Chap. 57 Verse 45, Edition Bibliotheca Indica. The reading of the second line, however, is wrong. It ought to be, *Pandyaś cha Keralâś chaiva Cholaś Kulaś tathaiṇa cha*, as it is in the manuscript I have consulted.

⁴ Chap. 45 Verse 124, Edition Bibliotheca Indica

⁵ Chap. 112 Verse 46, Poona Lithographed Edition

Section I — are those of the Cholas, Pândyas, and Keralas, which were situated in the extreme south of the peninsula, and correspond to the modern provinces of Tanjor, Madura, and Malabâr. In the Mahâbhârata, however, Sahadeva, the youngest of the Pându princes, is represented in his career of conquest to have gone to Dakshinâpatha after having conquered the king of the Pândvas⁶. This would show that the country of the Pândyas was not included in Dakshinâpatha. Again, the rivers Godâvarî and others springing from the Sahyâdri are spoken of in the Vâyu Purâna as rivers of Dakshinâpatha,⁷ while the Narmadâ and the Tâpî are not so styled, whence it would seem that the valleys of those rivers were not included in Dakshinâpatha. The word thus appears not to have been always used in the same sense. In modern times it is the name of the country between the Narmadâ on the north and a variable line along the course of the Kṛishnâ to the south, exclusive of the provinces lying to the extreme east. It is thus almost identical [2] with the country called Mahârâshṭra or the region in which the Marâṭhî language is spoken, the narrow strip of land between the Western Ghâts and the sea being excluded. A still narrower definition is that which excludes from this tract the valleys of the Narmadâ and the Tâpî, and to this extent we have seen that there is authority for it in the Vâyu Purâna. Thus the word Dekkan expresses the country watered by the upper Godâvarî and that lying between that river and the Kṛishnâ. The name Mahârâshṭra also seems at one time to have been restricted to this tract. For that country is, in the Purânas⁸ and other works,

⁶ Sâhityâparvan, Chap. 31 Verse 17, Tomlinson Edition.

⁷ Chap. 12 Verse 104, Ed. Pib. Ind.

⁸ See the chapters of the three Purânas referred to in the notes on page 1.

distinguished on the one hand from Aparânta or Northern Konkan, and from the regions on either side of the Narmadâ and the Tâpî inhabited by the Pulindas and Śabaras, as well as from Vīdarbha on the other. In a comparatively modern work entitled *Ratnakosa*,⁹ *Mahārāshṭra*, *Vaidarbha*, *Tâpî-taṭa-deśa* and *Narmadâ-taṭa-deśa* (i.e., the countries on either side of those rivers), and the Konkan are spoken of as distinct from each other. The Dekkan or *Mahārāshṭra* in this the narrowest sense of the word forms the subject of the present notice.

⁹ Prof. Aufrecht's Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 352

SECTION II

SETTLEMENT OF THE ÂRYAS IN THE DEKKAN

Section II

Settlement
of the
Âryas in
the
Dekkan

[3] It is now a recognised fact that the Âryas who came to India were at first confined to eastern Afghanistan and the Panjâb. Thence they emigrated to the east and for a time the easternmost province occupied by them was Bramhâvarta or their holy land, lying between the rivers Sarasvatî the modern Sarasutî, and Drishadvatî,¹ a stream in the vicinity, that is, the country about Thanesar. There the system of castes and orders and the sacrificial religion seem to have been fully developed. Thence they spread to the east and the south, and gradually occupied the whole country between the Himâlaya and the Vindhya. This last mountain range must for a long time have formed the southern boundary of their settlements. For the name Ârvâvarta or the region occupied by the Âryas, as explained by Manu² and even by Patañjali,³ the author of the Mahâbhâshya on Pânini's grammar, signified exclusively the part of the country situated between those mountain ranges. The Vindhya, which by its height seemed to obstruct the passage of the sun, was impassable to them. The name Pârîyâtra was given to the more northern and western portion of the range from which the rivers Chambal and Betvâ take their rise, probably because it was situated on the boundary of their Yâtrâ or range of communication. After a while, however, the sage Agastya, in poetical

¹ Manu, II 17

² Manu, II, 23

³ Patañjali's Mahâbhâshya under Pânini, II 4, 10

language, bade the mountain not to grow high, that is, crossed it and established an Âsrama or hermitage to the south and thus led the way to other settlements. The first or oldest Âryan province in the southern country must have been the Vidarbhas or the Berârs. For in the Râmâyana when Sugriva the monkey-king sends his followers to the different quarters in search of Râma's wife Sîtâ and Râvaṇa her ravisher, he directs them to go among other southern countries to Vidarbhas, Ŗichîkas, and Mahîshakas, and also to Daṇḍakâraṇya (the forest of Daṇḍakâ) and the river Godâvarî ⁴. This shows that while the country about the Godâvarî, that is, the Dekkan or Mahârâshṭra in the narrowest sense of the terms, was a forest, Vidarbha was an inhabited country. In the Mahâbhârata also Agastya is represented to have given a girl that he produced by his miraculous powers to the king of Vidarbha, and after she had grown to be a woman demanded her of the king in marriage ⁵. In the Râmâyana, Râma is represented to have lived for a long time in Daṇḍakâraṇya, at a place called Pañchavaṭî situated on the banks [4] of the Godâvarî about two yojanas from the hermitage of Agastya ⁶. That this Daṇḍakâraṇya was the modern Mahârâshṭra is shown by the fact stated above, that it was watered by the river Godâvarî, and by several others. According to the Hindu ritual it is necessary when beginning any religious ceremony to pronounce the name of the country in which it is performed. The Brâhmans in Mahârâshṭra do not utter the name Mahârâshṭra but Daṇḍakâraṇya with the word *desa* or "country" attached to it. In the introduction to

Section II

Vidarbha,
the first
Âryan pro-
vince in the
South

Daṇḍak-
âraṇya, the
same as
Mahârâshṭra

⁴ Râmâvana, IV Chap 41, Bombay Edition

⁵ Mahâbhârata, Bombay Edition, III Chap 96, 97

⁶ Râmâvana, III 13, 13 Bom Ed

Section II Hemâdri's *Vratākhaṇḍa*, a work written more than six hundred years ago, Devagiri, the modern Daulat-Paṇchavaṭṭī ābād, is spoken of as situated in a district on the confines of Dandakāraṇya Nāsik claims to be the Paṇchavaṭṭī where Rāma lived. But the poet could hardly be expected to have brought his hero from the Vindhya to such a remote westerly place as Nāsik. The river Godāvarī must, from the description occurring in the Rāmāyaṇa as well as in Bhavabhūti's *Uttara Rāmacharita*, have been wide at Rāma's Paṇchavaṭṭī. It could hardly have been so at Nāsik, which is very near its source. On the other hand, "the region about the northern part of the Sahyādri through which flowed the river Godāvarī and in which Govardhana was situated" is in the Purāṇas represented as "the most charming on earth, and there, to please Rāma, the sage Bhāradvāja caused heavenly trees and herbs to spring up for his wife's enjoyment, and thus a lovely garden came into existence"⁷. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, Govardhana is spoken of as a town, but the *Vāyu* and the *Mātsya* seem to mean it to be a mountain. This Govardhana must, from the given position, be the same as the village of that name near Nāsik, and thus the three Purāṇas must be understood as supporting the identification of Paṇchavaṭṭī with Nāsik.

The complete subjugation of Mahā-

But though Mahārāshṭra was the last country occupied by the Indian Āryas, their subjugation of it was no less thorough than that of all the northern

⁷ *Mārkaṇḍeya*, Chap. 57 Verses 34-35, *Vāyu*, Chap. 45 Verses 112-114, and *Mātsya*, Chap. 112 Verses 37-39. The passage, however, is corrupt. The three Purāṇas evidently derive their reading from the same original, but the text has been greatly corrupted. The most ancient version of it seems to be that in the *Vāyu*.

countries Here, as there, they drove some of the aborigines to the fastnesses of mountains and jungles, and incorporated the rest into their own society. The present Marāṭhī language is as much an offshoot of the Sanskrit as the other languages of Northern India. The ancient representatives of these dialects—the Mahārāshṭrī, the Śaurasenī, and the Māgadhī, as well as an earlier form of speech, the Pāli—show extensive corruptions of Sanskrit sounds, reducible however to a few general laws. These cannot be accounted for by the natural operation of the causes which bring about the decay of a language spoken throughout its history by the same race. For, this operation is slow and must be in continuance for a very long time in order to produce the wide-going phonetic changes which we observe in those Prākṛit dialects, as they are called. This long-continued process must at the same time give rise to a great many changes in other respects. Such, [5] however, we do not find in those dialects, and they do not in those respects show a very wide departure from the Sanskrit. The extensive corruptions of Sanskrit sounds, therefore, must be accounted for by the supposition that the language had to be spoken by races whose original tongue it was not. Those alien races could not properly pronounce the Sanskrit words used by the conquering Āryas, and thus the Prākṛit forms of Sanskrit words represent their pronunciation of them. A few sounds unknown to Sanskrit as well as some words not traceable to that language are also found in the Prākṛits, and these point to the same conclusion. It thus appears that the Indian Āryas in their progress through the country came in contact with alien races, which were incorporated with their society and learnt their language, at the same time that they preserved some of their original words and

Section II

rāshṭra by
the Āryas,
proved
by the
prevalent
dialect
of the
country

Prākṛit
Dialects

Section II

The subjugation of the country farther South, partial

phonetic peculiarities⁸ This was the state of things in the north down to the Marāṭhā country But farther south and on the eastern coast, though they penetrated there and communicated their own civilization to the aboriginal races inhabiting those parts, they were not able to incorporate them thoroughly into their own society and to root out their languages and their peculiar civilization On the contrary, the Āryas had to learn the languages of those races and to adopt a portion at least of their civilization Thus the Kanarese, the Telugu, the Tamil, and the other languages now spoken in Southern India are not derived from the Sanskrit but belong altogether to a different stock, and hence it is also that southern art is so different from the northern The reason why the result of the Āryan irruption was so different in Southern India from what it was in the north appears to be that when the Āryas penetrated to the south there existed already well-organized communities and kingdoms In the passage in the Rāmāyana, referred to above, the monkey-soldiers are directed to go to the countries of the Andhras (Telugu people), the Pāṇḍyas, the Cholas, and the Keralas, in the south, and are told that they will there see the gate of the city of the Pāṇḍyas adorned with gold and jewels And these races, their country, and their kings are alluded to in other Sanskrit works, as will be noticed hereafter In the north, however, at the time of the Āryan invasion, the condition of the country must have been similar to that of Dandak-āranya, which is represented in the Rāmāyana as a forest infested by Rākshasas or wild tribes who disturbed the religious rites of the Brāhmaṇ sages And

⁸ These points I have developed in my Lectures on Sanskrit and the Prākṛit languages derived from it, Jour Bom B R A S Vol XVI pp 290-91

throughout the older portion of Sanskrit literature, which is to be referred to the times when the Âryas were gradually progressing from the Panjâb, the wild tribes they met with are spoken of under the name of Dasvus, Râkshasas, and others

Section II
—

[6] SECTION III

APPROXIMATE DATE OF THE ÂRYAN SETTLEMENT IN
THE DEKKAN AND NOTICES OF SOUTHERN INDIA
IN ANCIENT INDIAN LITERATURE AND
INSCRIPTIONS

Section III

The Âryas
acquainted
with
Northern
India in the
time of the
Aitareya
Brâhmaṇa

WE will now endeavour to determine approximately the period when the Âryas settled in Daṇḍakâraṇya, and trace the relations between the civilized Âryan community of the north and the southern country at different periods of Sanskrit literature and at well-known dates in Indian history. In the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa, which is anterior to the whole of the so-called classical Sanskrit literature, the sage Viśvâmitra is represented to have condemned by a curse the progeny of fifty of his sons to "live on the borders" of the Âryan settlements, and these, it is said, "were the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabarās, Pulindas, and Mâtibās, and the descendants of Viśvâmitra formed a large portion of the Dasyus"¹ Of these the first four are spoken of as people living in the south, the Puṇḍras in the Rāmâyana, and the other three in the Purâṇas² From the later literature, the Pulindas and Śabarās appear to have been wild tribes living about the Vindhya³ Ptolemy places the former along the Narmadâ. The Andhras, who in these days are identified with the Telugu people, lived about the mouth of the Godâvari or perhaps farther to the north. If these were the posi-

¹ Aitareya Brâhmaṇa, VII. 18. Pulindas are omitted in the corresponding passage in the Śaṅkhayana Sûtra.

² See the passages above referred to.

³ In his Kâdambari Pîṭha places the Śabarās in the forest on the Vindhya range.

tions of the tribes in the time of the Aitareya Brâhmana, the Indian Âryas must at that time have been acquainted with the whole country to the north of the Vindhya and a portion to the south-east of that range Section III

Pāṇini in his Sūtras or grammatical rules shows an extensive knowledge of the geography of India Also in Pāṇini's time Of the places and rivers mentioned by him a good many exist in the Panjab and Afghanistan, but the names of countries situated in the eastern portion of Northern India also occur in the Sūtras. The countries furthest to the south mentioned by him are Kachchha (IV 2, 133), Avanti (IV 1, 176), Kosala (IV 1, 171), Karûsa (IV 1, 178)⁴ [7] and Kalunga (IV 1, 178)⁵. The first is the same as the modern country

⁴ This name does not occur in the Sūtra, but is the second in the list of Ganas beginning with Bharga. As regards the words occurring in these Ganas, I have on a previous occasion expressed my opinion that though it is not safe to attribute a whole Gana to Pāṇini (and in several cases we have clear indications that some of the words were inserted in later times), still the first three words might without mistake be taken to be his. This was objected to by Professor Weber. But as my reasons were, as I thought, obvious, I did not think it necessary to defend my view. I may, however, here state that since Pāṇini refers to these Ganas in his Sūtras by using the first word in the list with *ādī*, equivalent to "and others," added to it, and since he uses the plural of the noun so formed, and the plural of a noun cannot be used unless three individuals at least of the class are meant, it is proper that we should understand him to be thinking of the first and two words at least more. This observation is meant to be applicable generally. In the present case, however, the expression *Bhargādī* forms a part of the compound, and the plural is not actually used, though it is clearly implied.

⁵ In the so-called Pāṇinīya Śikshā the expression Saurāshṭrikā nārī or "a woman of Surāshṭra" occurs. But this should by no means be regarded as showing that Pāṇini

Section III

of that name, Avantî is the district about Ujjayinî, and Kalinga corresponds to the modern Northern Circars Kosala, Karûsa, and Avantî are mentioned in the Purânas as countries situated on the back of the Vindhya⁶ In the Ratnâvalî, a dramatic play, Kosala is also placed near that mountain range Supposing that the non-occurrence of the name of any country farther south in Pânini's work is due to his not having known it, a circumstance which, looking to the many names of places in the north that he gives, appears very probable, the conclusion follows that in his time the Âryas were confined to the north of the Vindhya, but did proceed or communicate with the northernmost portion of the eastern coast, not by crossing that range, but avoiding it by taking an easterly course

Southern
India
unknown
in all
likelihood
in Panini's
time

Southern
India
known to
Kâtvyâna
but
unknown to
Pânini

Kâtvyâna, however, the object of whose aphorisms called Vârtikas is to explain and supplement Pânini, shows an acquaintance with southern nations Pânini gives rules for the formation of derivatives for the names of tribes of warriors which are at the same time the names of the countries inhabited by them, in the sense of "one sprung from an individual belonging to that tribe," and also, it must be understood, in the sense of "king of the country" Thus a man sprung from an individual of the tribe of the

was acquainted with Surâshîtra The Pâninîya Śikshâ cannot be the work of Panini, for the author of that treatise begins by stating that he is going to explain Śikshâ according to the views of Panini and ends with a few verses in praise of the great grammarian Besides, the author notices the Prākṛit dialects to which there is no allusion whatever in Panini's great work and writes in verse Grammatical treatises in verse are later than those in the form of Sūtras The Pâninîya Śikshâ therefore must have been composed long after Panini

⁶ See the passages cited above

Pañchâlas, or the king of the country Pañchâlas, is to be called Pañchâla, a descendant of a Salva, or the king of the country of the Sîlvas, is to be called Sâlva, &c. Kâtîâyana notices here an omission, the name Pândva is not explained by Pânini. Kâtîâyana therefore adds, "one sprung from an individual of the tribe of the Pândus or the king of their country, should be called a Pândva." ⁷ Similarly, Pânini tells us that in either of these senses no termination should be appended to the word *Kambojas* which was the name of a non-Âryan people in the north-west, nor should any of its vowels be changed, but that the word *Kamboja* itself means "one sprung from an individual of the Kamboja tribe, or the king of the country of the Kambojas" ⁸ Kâtîâyana says that in this rule, the expression "and others" should be added to the word *Kambojas* for the rule applies also to the names "Cholas and others," that is, persons sprung from an individual of the Chola and other tribes, and the kings of the Chola and other countries should be called by the names "Chola and others." Similarly, Pânini tells us that the countries Kumudvat, Nadvat, and Vetasvat are so called because they contain Kumudas or water-lilies, [8] Nadās or reeds, and Vetas or cranes, respectively ⁹ Kâtîâyana adds, "Mahishmat is so called because it contains Mahishas or buffaloes."

Now Mahishmat appears to be the same southern country which in the Purāṇas is associated with Māhārashṭra and is called Māhishakas. Māhishmatī on the banks of the Narmadā was probably its capital. Here we may, I think, argue, as Professor Goldstucker has done in many similar cases, that had

⁷ Pāṇḍor dyan, which is a Vārtika on Pāṇ IV 1, 168

⁸ Pāṇ IV 1, 175

⁹ Pāṇ IV 2, 87

Section III Pāṇini known the Pāṇḍyas, Cholas, and Mahishmat, he would not have omitted the names from his rules, considering how careful a grammarian he was. Very likely, then, he did not know them, and this supposition is strengthened by the fact alluded to above that the name of no other southern country occurs in his Sūtras. Thus then the Āryas of the north were not familiar with the southern countries and tribes in the time of Pāṇini, but were so in the time of Kātyāyana. The latter author also mentions a town of the name of Nāsikya,¹⁰ which is very likely the same as our modern Nāsik.

Patañjali
intimately
acquainted
with
Southern
India

Patañjali shows an intimate acquaintance with the south. As a grammarian he thinks it his duty to notice the lingual usages in the south, and tells us that in Dakṣiṇāpatha the word *Sarasī* is used to denote large lakes.¹¹ He mentions Māhishmatī,¹² Vaidarbha,¹³ Kāñchīpura,¹⁴ the modern Conjeveram, and Kerala¹⁵ or Malabār. Patañjali's date, B.C. 150, may now be relied upon. That author notices variant readings of Kātyāyana's Vārtikas as found in the texts used by the schools of the Bhāradvājīyas, Saunāgas, and others. Some of these might be considered as emendations of the Vārtikas, though Patañjali's introduction of them by the verb *paṭhanti*, "they read," is an indication that he regarded them as different readings. A sufficiently long time therefore must have elapsed between Kātyāyana and Patañjali to give rise to these variants or emendations. I am therefore inclined to accept the popular

Chrono-
logical
Relations
between
Kātyāyana
and
Patañjali

¹⁰ In a Vārtika on Pāṇ. VI 1, 63

¹¹ Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇ. I 1, 19

¹² On Pāṇ. III 1, 26

¹³ IV 1, fourth Āhnika

¹⁴ IV 2, second Āhnika

¹⁵ IV 1, fourth Āhnika

tradition which refers Kātyāyana to the time of the Nandas who preceded the Mauryas, and to assign to him the first half of the fourth century before Christ In this manner the interval between Kātyāyana and Patañjali was about two hundred years Now, Professor Goldstucker has shown from an examination of the Vārtikas that certain grammatical forms are not noticed by Pāṇini but are taught by Kātyāyana, and concludes that they did not exist in the language in Pāṇini's time I have followed up the argument in my lectures "On the Sanskrit and Prākṛit languages,"¹⁶ and given from the Vārtikas several ordinary instances of such forms From these one of two conclusions only is possible, viz, either that Pāṇini was a very careless and ignorant grammarian, or that the forms did not exist in the language in his time The first is of course inadmissible, wherefore the second must be accepted I have also [9] shown from a passage in the introduction to Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, that verbal forms such as those of the perfect which are taught by Pāṇini as found in the Bhāṣhā or current language, not the Chhāndasa or obsolete language, had gone out of use in the time of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, and participles had come to be used instead¹⁷ Professor Goldstucker has also given a list of words used by Pāṇini in his Sūtras in a sense which became obsolete in the time of Kātyāyana, and shown what portion of Sanskrit literature did not probably exist in Pāṇini's time but was known to Kātyāyana, and in one case comes to the not unjustifiable conclusion that the time that elapsed between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana was so great that certain literary works which either did not exist in Pāṇini's time or were not old to him came to be

Section III

Between
Kātyāyana
and Pāṇini

¹⁶ Jour Bom B R A S Vol XVI p 273

¹⁷ Jour Bom B R A S Vol XVI, pp 269-71

Section III

The Āryas
penetrated
to the
Dekkan
after the
beginning
of about the
seventh
century B C

considered by Kātyāyana to be as old as those which were old to Pāṇini. No less an interval of time than about three centuries can account for all these circumstances. Pāṇini, therefore, must have flourished in the beginning of the seventh century before the Christian era, if not earlier still, and against this conclusion I believe no argument has been or can be brought, except a vague prejudice. And now to our point, the Indian Āryas had thus no knowledge of Southern India previous to the seventh century before Christ, they had gone as far as the Northern Circars by the eastern route, but no farther, and the countries directly to the south of the Vindhya they were not familiar with. About that time, however, they must have begun to penetrate still further, since they had already settled in or had communication with the countries on the northern skirts of the Vindhya and Kalunga, and first settled in Vidarbha or Berār, approaching it still, it would appear, by the eastern route, but in the course of some time more they crossed the Vindhya and settled in Daṇḍakāranya along the banks of the Godāvarī, that is, in Mahārāshṭra or the Dekkan. Before B C 350 they had become familiar with the whole country down to Tanjor and Mādura.

Chrono-
logical
value of the
Epics

A chronological conclusion based on the occurrence of certain words or names in the great epics is not likely to be so safe. Though a Mahābhārata existed before Pāṇini and Āśvalāyana, it is highly questionable whether our present text is the same as that which existed in their times. On the contrary, the probability is that the work has been added to from time to time, and the text itself has undergone such corruption that no one can be positively certain that a particular word was not foisted into it in comparatively modern times. The text of the

Râmâyana also has become corrupt, though additions do not seem to have been made to it. Still the Bengali rescension of the poem like the Bengali rescensions of more recent works does contain additions. The text prevalent in this part of the country and in the south is more reliable, and though innumerable differences of reading exist in the different manuscripts even on this side still there is hardly any material difference. But [10] the date of the Râmâyana is uncertain, the present Hindu belief based on the Purânas is that Râma's incarnation is older than Kṛishna's, and consequently the Râmâyana older than the Mahâbhârata, but it is not a little curious that while there is an allusion to Vâsudeva and Arjuna and to Yudhishthira in Pânini, and Patañjali frequently brings in Mahâbhârata characters in his illustrations and examples, there is not one allusion to Râma or his brothers or their father Daśaratha in the works of those grammarians. Even a much later author, Amarasimha the lexicographer, in his list of the synonyms of Vishnu, gives a good many names derived from the Kṛishna incarnation, but the name of Râma, the son of Dasaratha, does not occur, though Râma or Balabhadra, the brother of Kṛishna, is mentioned. Still, whatever chronological value may be attached to the circumstance, the occurrence of the names of places in the Dekkan contained in those epics I have already to some extent noticed. Sahadeva is represented to have subdued the Pândyas, Dravîḍas, Uḍras, Keralas, and Andhras,¹⁸ and also to have visited Kishkindhâ, which was probably situated somewhere near Hampi, the site of the Pampâ lake or river, where Râma met Sugriva the monkey chief, though the country Kaishkindha is

Section III

Places
in the
Dekkan
alluded to
in the
poems

¹⁸ Sâbhap, Chap 31

Section III placed by the Purânas among those near the Vindhya. He went also to Śûrparaka, the modern Supârâ near Bassein, Daṇḍaka, the same as Daṇḍakâraṇya but not mentioned as a forest, Karahâṭaka the modern Karhâḍa on the confluence of the Kṛishṇâ and the Koinâ, and to others. The countries mentioned in the passage in the Râmâyana, alluded to above, as lying to the south are Utkala, probably the modern Ganjam, Kalinga, Daśârṇa, Avantî, Vīdarbha, and others. The district near Bhilsâ must have been called Daśârṇa in ancient times, for its capital was Vīdiśâ, which was situated, as stated by Kâlidâsa in the Meghadûta, on the Vetravatî or Betvâ, and is thus to be identified with the modern Bhilsâ. All these are thus in the vicinity of the Vindhya or nearly in the same line with it farther east. But between these and the southernmost countries of the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, and Keralas, the Râmâyana mentions no other place or country but Daṇḍakâraṇya. This condition of the country, as observed before, is to be considered as previous to the Âryan settlements in the Dekkan, while that represented by the Mahâbhârata in the place indicated seems subsequent, and herein we may see a reason for believing that the Râmâyana is the older of the two epics. The name Mahârâshṭra does not occur in either of them.

Names of
peoples
in the
Dekkan
in the
inscriptions
of Aśoka

In the middle of the third century before Christ, Aśoka, the great king of the Maurya dynasty reigning at Pāṭaliputra in Magadha, speaks in the fifth Edict of his rock-inscriptions, which are found at Gumnâr in Kâthiâvâḍ on the west, Dhauli in Katak and Jaugaḍ in Ganjam on the eastern coast, at Khalsi in the Himâlaya, Shahbaz-garhi in Afghanistan, and Mansehra on the northern frontier of the Panjab, of his having sent ministers of religion [11] to the Râshṭikas

and the Petenikas and to the Aparântas¹⁹ The last Section III
 which we know best is Northern Konkan, the capital
 of which was Sûrparaka Petenikas is not unlikely
 the same as Paithanikas, i.e., the people or country
 about Paithana on the Godâvari The vernacular
 pronunciation of the name of the city, which in
 Sanskrit is Pratishthîna, was in those days, as it now
 is, Peṭhapa or Paithana, for both the author of the
 Periplus and Ptolemy call it Paithana or Baithana
 The Râstikas, or, according to the Manselira version,
 Raṭrakas, corresponding to the Sanskrit Râshṭrikas,
 were very likely the people of Mahârâshṭra, for a
 tribe of the name of Raṭṭas has from the remotest
 times held political supremacy in the Dekkan One
 branch of it assumed the name of Râshṭrakûṭas and
 governed the country before the Châlukyas acquired
 power It re-established itself after about three
 centuries, but had to yield to the Châlukyas again
 after some time In later times, chieftains of the
 name of Raṭṭas governed Sugandhavartî or Saundattî
 in the Belgaum district In the thirteenth Edict
 in which the countries where Asoka's moral edicts
 were respected are enumerated, the Petenikas are
 associated with Bhojas instead of Râstikas Bhojas,

19 चै बाघनेऽपरांता is the Sanskrit of the original
 Inscrip. It might be translated as "and also those other
 called Aparantas," i.e. also that other country called
 Aparanta If we take it in this way, Aparânta is clearly
 Northern Konkan, for that is the name of that part of the
 country found in Sanskrit and Pali Literature from the
 remotest times In the Mahāvamsa and Dipavamsa quoted
 below, Mahârâshṭra is associated with Aparântaka It is
 possible to translate it as "and also other western countries"
 as M. Senart does But the word "other" certainly refers
 to Rastika-Petenikânâm and not to the preceding Yonam
 Kambojam &c., as he takes it so as to make these last also
 western countries (Inscriptions of Aśoka, Vol II, p. 84)

Section III

Etymology
of the name
"Mahâ-
râshṭra "

we know, ruled over the country of Vīdarbha or Berâr²⁰ and also in other parts of the Dekkan In the inscriptions in the caves at Kuṭā²¹ the name "Mahâbhoja" or Great Bhoja occurs several times, and once in an inscription at Beḍṣâ Just as the Bhojas called themselves Mahâbhojas, the Râshṭrikas, Raṭṭis, Raṭṭhis, or Raṭṭhas called themselves Mahâraṭṭhis or Mahâraṭṭhas, as will be shown below, and thus the country in which they lived came to be called Mahâraṭṭha, the Sanskrit of which is Mahârâshṭra In the second and the thirteenth edicts, the countries of the Cholas, Pândyas, Ketala-putras (Chera or Kerala), and the Andhras and Pulindas are mentioned Thus about a hundred years before Patānjalī, the whole of the southern peninsula up to Cape Comorin was in direct communication with the north, and the Dekkan or Mahârâshṭra had regular kingdoms governed by Raṭṭas and Bhojas

The
occurrence
of the
names
"Mahâ-
raṭṭhi,"
"Mahâ-
raṭṭha" and
"Mahâ-
râshṭra" in
books and
inscriptions

In the Mahâvamso, a Ceylonese chronicle which was written in the third quarter of the fifth century of the Christian era, and in the Dīpavamso, which is much older, the Buddhist saint Moggalliputto, who conducted the proceedings of the third convocation said to [12] have been held in the time of Asoka, is represented to have sent missionaries to Mahâraṭṭha, Aparântaka, and Vanavâsī²² Whether the name Mahâraṭṭha or Mahârâshṭra had come into use in the

²⁰ In the Daśakumâracharita, the family of Bhojas has been represented as having held sway over the Vīdarbha country for a long time

²¹ Kuṭā inscriptions Nos 1, 9, 17, 19, 23, and Beḍṣâ No 2, Arch Surv of West Ind, No 10

²² Mahâvamso, Turnour's Ed, pp 71 and 72, and Dīpavamso, Oldenberg's Ed, p 54 The latter however omits Vanavâsī

Section III — Kâlidâsa has not yet been satisfactorily determined, still he is mentioned as a poet of great merit in the first half of the seventh century by Bâṇa in his *Harshacharita* in the north,²⁴ and in an inscription at Aihole²⁵ dated 556 Śaka in the south. A hundred years is not too long a period to allow for the spread of his fame throughout the country, perhaps it is too short. Kâlidâsa may therefore be referred to that period of Śanskrit literature in which the nine gems flourished, and which has been placed by Dr Kern in the first half of the sixth century.²⁶ The Mahârâshṭrî dialect, therefore, in which Kâlidâsa wrote the *Setubandha* and the Prâkṛit verses in his plays, must have undergone a course of cultivation for about two or three centuries earlier and been called by that name, since it has been known by no other in the whole literature. Varâhamihira also, who lived in the beginning of the sixth century, speaks of Mahârâshṭra as a southern country, and in the Aihole inscription alluded to above Mahârâshṭra is mentioned as comprising three [13] countries and ninety-nine thousand villages. Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, calls the country ruled over by the Châlukyas in the second quarter of the seventh century, Moholocha, which has been properly identified with Mahârâshṭra. The occurrence of the name of Mahârâshṭra in the Purânas has already been noticed

²⁴ Dr Hall's *Vāsavadattâ*, Preface, p. 11

²⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII, p. 243

²⁶ Ed. of Varâhamihira, Preface, p. 26

[14] SECTION IV

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN OR MAHÂRÂSHTRA
—ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS
IN THE CAVE-TEMPLES OF WESTERN INDIA

No clue to the political history of Mahârâshtra in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era is now available. The Purâṇas contain lists of kings and dynasties whose chronology has been to some extent determined by their known connection with the successors of Alexander the Great, but clear traces of their occupation of the south have not yet been found. Chandragupta, who founded the Maurya dynasty in about B.C. 320, ruled over Northern India as far as Kâṣhîâvâḍ, and his grandson Asoka, who reigned from B.C. 263 to B.C. 229, retained possession of the province¹. The rock-inscriptions of the latter, which were evidently planted in the countries which owned his sway, show that his empire extended to Kalinga or the Northern Circars in the east and Kâṣhîâvâḍ in the west. But stray edicts have been discovered farther south, a fragment of the eighth being found at Supârâ and three minor ones on the northern frontier of Mysore. In the second rock-edict he speaks of his own dominions as "the conquered countries" and mentions Chola, Pândya, Ketalaputta, and Saliyaputta down to Tambapanni or Ceylon as outlying provinces. These therefore did not own his sway. But in the fifth edict he mentions the Râstṛikas, Petenikas and Aparântas and a few more provinces as those for the benefit of which he appointed religious ministers

Section IV
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Extent of the dominions of Chandragupta and Asoka

¹ See inscription of Rudradâman, Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 260, line 8.

Section IV If these were as much a part of his dominions as the many others which are not named, there is no reason why they should be named. Again he includes most of these in the thirteenth edict among countries which received his moral teaching, along with Chola, Pāṇḍya and others, and the territories ruled over by Antiochus and four other Greek princes. It would thus appear that though the countries of the Râṣṭikas, Bhojas, Petenikas, and Aparāntas were not outlying provinces like those of the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas, and Ketalaputtas, they enjoyed a sort of semi-independence, and only owed allegiance to him as suzerain. The appearance of fragments of his inscriptions at Supârâ and on the confines of Mysor is to be accounted for by this fact, or by the supposition that his dominions extended up to Supârâ on the western coast and along a strip in the centre of the peninsula to Mysor, leaving the western countries of the Râṣṭikas, the Bhojas, and Petenikas, and the southern coast in a state of semi-independence. And there is some positive evidence to that effect. Vīdarbhā, the country of the Bhojas, must have existed as a separate kingdom about that time. For in the dramatic play of Mālavikāgnimitra, the political events narrated in which may be accepted as historical, Agnimitra the son of Pushyamitra, the first king of the Śunga dynasty, who reigned in [15] the second and third quarters of the second century before Christ, is represented to have reigned at Vidīśā, which I have before identified with Bhilsā, probably as his father's viceroy. He had made proposals of marriage with Mālavikā to her brother Mādhavasena, the cousin of Yajñasena, king of Vīdarbhā. Between these cousins there was a quarrel as regards the succession to the throne. When Mādhavasena was

Vīdarbhā, a
separate
kingdom in
the time of
Śungas

secretly on his way to Vidisî, the general of Yajñar Section IV
 sena, posted on the frontier of the kingdom,
 captured him. His counsellor Sumati and Mithvikî
 escaped, but Madhvasena was kept in custody.
 Thereupon Ammitra demanded of Yajñasena the
 surrender of Madhvasena. Yajñasena promised to
 give him up on condition that his wife's brother, who
 was the counsellor of the last Maurya king and had
 been imprisoned by Ammitra or his father Pushya-
 mitra, should be released. This enraged Ammitra,
 who thereupon sent an army against Yajñasena and
 vanquished him. Madhvasena was released, and the
 country of Vidarbha was divided between the two
 cousins, each ruling over each side of the river
 Varadî.

Paṭhan also must have been the capital of a Paṭhan,
the capital
of a king-
dom
 kingdom about the time. In the inscriptions in the
 caves at Pitallhorî near Chalisgamy, which from the
 forms of the characters in which they are engraved
 must be referred to the second century before Christ,
 the religious benefactions of merchants from Pratish-
 ṭhîna are recorded, as well as those of the physician
 to the king and of his son and daughter.² The king
 referred to must be the ruler of Pratishṭhîna or
 Paṭhan. No more particular information is available.
 On the history of the early centuries of the Christian
 era and the first century previous, however, the in-
 scriptions in the cave-temples on the top of the
 Sâhâdri throw a good deal of light. I will here
 bring together the information deducible from them,
 noticing the inscriptions in the chronological order
 clearly determined by the forms of the characters.

An inscription³ in a small cave at Nâsik mentions

² Inscriptions, pp. 39, 41. Arch. Surv. West Ind., No. 10.

³ No. 6, Nâsik Inscriptions, Vol. VII, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., and p. 338, Trans. Oriental Congress, 1874.

Section IV
Inscriptions
of king
Kṛishṇa
and others
of the
Śātavāhana
race at
Nāsik and
Nânâghât

that the cave was scooped out by the lieutenant at Nāsik of King Kṛishṇa of the Śātavāhana race In a cave at Nânâghât there is another, which is much mutilated and the purport of which consequently is not quite clear In that same cave figures of persons are carved on the front wall, and the following names are inscribed over them 1, Râyâ Simuka Śātavāhana, 1 e, king Simuka Śātavāhana, 2, Devî Nāyanikâyâ rañño cha Sīri Śātakanino, 1 e, of queen Nāyanikâ and king Sīri Śātakarni, 3, Kumâro Bhâyâ, 1 e, prince Bhâyâ, 4, Mahâraṣṭhaganakayiro, 1 e, the heroic Marâṭhâ leader or the hero of the Marâṭhâ tribe, 5, Kumâro Haku Sīri, 1 e, prince Haku Śrī, 6, Kumâro Śātavāhana, 1 e, prince Śātavāhana Of these the second who has been mentioned along with his queen must have been the reigning prince, the first was an earlier king of the same [16] dynasty, the fourth was a local Marâṭhâ warrior, and the rest were young princes of the Śātavāhana dynasty

Ushava-
dâta's
principal
inscription
at Nāsik

In another Nāsik cave there are four inscriptions In the first we are told that the cave was caused to be constructed on mount Triraśmi in Govardhana or the Nāsik District by the benevolent Ushavadâta, the son-in-law of king Kshaharâta Nahapâna and son of Dinika Ushavadâta gave away three hundred thousand cows, constructed flights of steps on the river Bârnâsâyâ, assigned sixteen villages to gods and Brâhmanas, fed a hundred thousand Brâhmanas every year, got eight Brâhmanas at Prabhâsa or Somanâthi Paṭṭan married at his own expense, constructed quadrangles, houses, and halting places at Bharuṣacheliha or Bhâruch, Dasapura in Mîlvâ, Govardhana, and Sarpârâṣa, the modern Supârâ near Bassein, made gardens and sank wells and tanks, placed ferry boats over the

Ibî, Pîridî, Dîmanî, Tapî, Karabeyî, and Dîhî nûkî, which were rivers along the coast between Thîna and Surat, constructed rest-houses and endowed places for the distribution of water to travellers on both sides of these rivers, and founded certain benefactions in the village of Nânangolî, for the Charanas and Parishads (Vedic schools of Brahmans) in Pindîtal nagî, Govardhana, Suvarnamukha, Sôpîraga, and Rîmatîrtha. One year in the rainy season he marched at the command of his lord to the relief of the chief of a tribe of Kshatriyas called Uttamabhadras, who had been attacked and besieged by the Mîlavas. At the sound of his martial music the Mîlavas fled away, and they were made the subjects of the Uttamabhadras. Thence he went to Poshlarîm and there performed ablutions and gave three thousand cows and a village.⁴

In the second inscription Ushavadîta is spoken of as having, in the year 12, dedicated the cave monastery for the use of the Buddhist mendicant priests coming to it from the four quarters. He deposited with a guild of weavers residing in Govardhana a sum of two thousand Kârshîpanas at an annual interest of one hundred Kârshîpanas. Out of this interest he directed that a garment should annually be given to each of the twenty priests residing during the rains in his cave monastery. With another guild he deposited one thousand Kârshîpanas, the interest on which was seventy-five Kârshîpanas. Out of this other things (Kusana) were to be provided for the priests. The carrying out of these directions was secured by their being declared in the corporation of the town of Govardhana and

Ushava
dîta's
other ins-
criptions

⁴ No. 17. Asik Inscriptions, Vol. VII, Jour. B. B. R. A. S. and Trans. Oriental Congress, 1874, p. 326.

Section IV — inscribed on the door of the monastery In the years 41 and 40 he gave away a large sum of money⁵ for gods and Brâhman The third inscription, which is a short one, mentions that the apartment on which it is engraved was the religious benefaction of Ushavadâta's wife Dakhamitrâ⁶ The fourth is greatly mutilated but sufficient remains to show that that also records similar gifts of Ushavadâta's⁷ In the cave-temple of Kârli there is an inscription [17] in which Ushavadâta is represented to have granted the village of Karajika for the support of the mendicant priests in the cave monastery of Valûraka, as the hill or the country about it seems to have been called at the time⁸ There also is given an account of his charities similar to that in the first of his Nâsik inscriptions In an inscription at Junnar, Ayama, the minister of the lord Nahapâna the great Kshatrpa, is mentioned as having caused a tank to be dug and a hall to be constructed⁹ The minister appears to have been a Brâhman, since he is spoken of as belonging to the Vatsa Gotra

Inscriptions
of Gotamî-
putra
Śātakarṇi
and
Puṣumāyi
at Nāsik

Next in order come the inscriptions in which certain kings of the names of Gotamîputra Śātakarṇi and Puṣumāyi are mentioned In the longest of the four occurring in the cave-temple at one extremity of the hill at Nâsik, we are told that in the nineteenth year of the reign of king Puṣumāyi, the son of Vâsishthî, the cave was caused to be constructed and dedicated for the use of Buddhist mendicants of the

⁵ Nos 18 and 16, *Ibid*, which together form one inscription

⁶ First part of No 16, *Ibid*

⁷ No 14 *Ibid*

⁸ No 13, Kârli Inscriptions—Arch Surv, W Ind., No 10

⁹ No 25, Junnar Inscriptions, *Ibid*

Bhadrâyanîya sect by Gotamî, the mother of king Sâtakarni Gotamîputra She is there called "the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king" Gotamîputra is spoken of as king of kings and ruler of Asika, Asmaka, Mûlaka,¹⁰ Surâshtra, Kukura, Aparânta, Anûpa, Vîdarbha and Âkarâvanti¹¹ He was the lord of the mountains Vindhyâvat, Pâriyâtra, Sahya, Kṛishnagiri, Malaya, Mahendra, Śreshthagiri, and Chakora His orders were obeyed by a large circle of kings, and his feet were adored by them His beasts of burden drank the waters of the three seas He protected all who sought an asylum with him, and regarded the happiness and misery of his subjects as his own He paid equal attention to the three objects of human pursuit, viz, duty, worldly prosperity, and the satisfaction of desires, appointing certain times and places for each He was the abode of learning, the support of good men, the home of glory, the source of good manners, the only person of skill, the only archer, the only hero, the only protector of Brâhmanas He conferred upon Brâhmanas the means of increasing their race, and stemmed the progress of the confusion of castes His exploits rivalled those of Râma, Kesava, Arjuna, and Bhîmasena, and his prowess was equal to that of Nabhâga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayâti, Râma, and Ambarîsha He was

¹⁰ Aśmaka and Maulika are mentioned among the southern countries in the Purâṇas

¹¹ Surâshtra is Southern Kâthiâvâḍ, Kukura, a portion of Râjputânâ, and Aparânta, Northern Koukan Anûpa is mentioned in the Purâṇas as a country situated in the vicinity of the Vindhyas It was the country on the upper Narmadâ with Mâhishmati for its capital, according to the Raghuvamśa Âkarâvanti must be the eastern portion of Mâlvâ

Section IV descended from a long line of kings He vanquished the host of his enemies in innumerable battles, quelled the boast and pride of Kshatriyas, destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, left no trace or remnant of the race of Khagârâta, and re-established the glory of the Śâtavâhana family In the last line of the inscription mention [18] is made of the grant of a village for the support of the establishment in the cave-temple ¹²

Charter of
Puṣumâvi

In a later inscription engraved in smaller characters below this, Vâsishṭhîputra Śrî Puṣumavi, the lord of Navanara, issues orders to his lieutenant in Govardhana, Sarvâkshadalana He calls his attention to the fact that the village granted by the "lord of Dhanakaṭa"¹³ (Gotamîputra) in accordance with the above, was not liked by the Bhadrâyanîyas, and therefore assigns another to them by this charter

Charter of
Gotamî-
putra

On the wall to the left of the verandah of the cave is another inscription It purports to be an order or notice issued from the camp of the victorious

¹² Inscription No 26, Vol VII Jour B B R A S and Trans Or Congr 1874, p 307

¹³ Paṇḍit Bhagvânâlâl and Dr Bühler, whose transcripts and translations of the Nâsik inscriptions were published about ten years after mine, read the expression thus understood by me as धनकटसमनेहि for the Sanskrit धनकटग्रामणि But what the Śramanas or Buddhist priests of Dhanakaṭa, which was situated hundreds of miles away on the lower Kṛishnâ, could have to do with the matter of the granting of a village near Nâsik to the Bhadrâyanîya mendicants of the place it is impossible to conceive The expression must, I think, be taken as धनकटसामिनेहि for the Sanskrit धनकटस्वामिनि or धनकटसामिनेहि corresponding to महासामिनेहि in the first part of No 25, the Sanskrit of which is महास्वामिके The form सामिनेहि must have come into use on the analogy of such forms as अत्तेनेहि for आत्मनि and राजानेहि for राजनि

Section IV.

army of Govardhana, by Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, lord of Dhanakaṭaka, to Vishnupālita, his lieutenant in Govardhana, informing him that the king has granted a field measuring 200 Nivartanas, which was up to that time in the possession of one Ushabhadāta, for the benefit of recluses. The charter here engraved is represented to have been originally issued in the year 18, that is, in the year preceding that in which the cave-temple was completed and dedicated. Below this is inscribed another charter issued in the form of an order to Śramaka, the governor of Govardhana, by the queen of Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, who is also called the royal mother. She therein speaks of a field granted before, probably the one conveyed by the above charter, and says that it measures one hundred Nivartanas, and she assigns another hundred by this charter out of a field belonging to the crown which was her patrimony. It appears that two hundred Nivartanas were granted by the first charter, but probably it turned out that the field measured one hundred only, hence she now makes it up by granting another hundred out of another field. The date of this grant is 24, i.e., it was made six years after the first.¹⁴

Of the wife
of Gotamī-
putra

Besides these, there are two inscriptions at Nāsik recording the benefactions of private individuals, dated in the second and seventh years of the reign of Śrī (Śrī) Puṣyamāvi, and two in the cave at Kārlī,¹⁵ dated in the seventh and twenty-fourth years of his reign.

Private
inscriptions
containing
Puṣyamavi's
name

Since Gotamī is spoken of as the mother of a king and the grandmother of a king, and the wife of

Relations
between
the kings

¹⁴ No. 25, B. 3

¹⁵ Nos. 1 and 27, B. 13

¹⁶ Nos. 14 and 15, Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10

Section IV
and queens
mentioned
in the
inscriptions
in Gotamî's
cave

her son Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi is [19] represented as the mother of a king, and since the only other king besides Śâtakarṇi mentioned in these inscriptions is Puṣumâyî, it appears that this last was the grandson and son respectively of these two ladies. He was therefore the son and his mother Vâsishṭhî the wife of Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi. Śâtakarṇi issued the charter contained in the second inscription in the year 18, which must be the eighteenth year of Puṣumâyî's reign, since dates referring to his reign only are found at Nâsik and Kârlî and not to that of Gotamîputra. Even the date of the large inscription noticed above in which Gotamîputra's great deeds are recorded is referred to Puṣumâyî's reign. And the grant of the village alluded to in that inscription and the one below appears to have been made by Gotamîputra, since he is spoken of as "the lord of Dhanakaṭaka," though the portion of the rock containing the words that would have rendered the sense clear has been cut away. Gotamî is spoken of as dedicating the cave in the present tense, wherefore it must be understood she was alive at the time. The father and the son appear thus to have reigned at the same time, the son on this side of the country since the inscriptions are dated in his reign, and the father at Dhanakaṭaka, which has been identified with Dharanikoṭ in the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency. And this is confirmed by the fact, mentioned above, of Gotamî's having been called the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king. This statement would be pointless if she were not both at one and the same time¹⁷

¹⁷ Dr Böhler (Arch Surv of West Ind, Vol IV, p 110,) supposes me to have rested my conclusion as regards this point on this statement alone, and calls it a mistake

Since the charter of the year 24, intended as supplementary to that of 18, was issued by Vâsishṭhi, while the first was issued by her husband, it appears probable that Gotamîputra had died in the interval and Vâsishṭhi reigned as regent at the capital, while Puṣumâvi continued to govern the Dekkan or Mahârîshṭra. The years given in the charter must be those of Puṣumâvi, since even the large inscription is dated in the nineteenth year of his reign. These kings belonged to the Sâtavâhana dynasty.

The names of other kings, apparently of the same dynasty, are found in other inscriptions. In one of the caves at Kânheri near [20] Thânâ, a grant is recorded in the eighth year of the reign of Maḍhari-
Maḍhari-
putra
Yajña Sri

But he will find my other reasons also stated in the remarks at the end of my article in the Transactions of the Oriental Congress of 1874. And even this statement has a very high corroborative value. For, if the object of the writer was to represent Gotamî's "special claim" to honour, that is better served by supposing that her son and grandson were great kings at one and the same time. Every queen belonging to a dynasty in power is the mother of a king and grandmother of a king, and there is nothing special in the fact if the son and the grandson bore the title at different times. If the son was dead, no object is gained as regards this point by saying she was the mother of that son that is not gained by saying she was the grandmother of a *living* great king. And if it was a fact that Gotamîputra was dead when the cave temple was dedicated and Puṣumâvi alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the inscription, but there is not a word in praise of him. If Puṣumâvi became king only after Gotamîputra, the latter must have died nineteen years before the dedication of the temple, and it certainly is not what one acquainted with the manner and motive of Hindu inscription-writers would expect that a king who had been dead for nineteen years should be highly extolled in the inscription and the reigning king altogether passed over in silence.

Section IV

Chatara-
panaNames of
princes on
the coins
found
at Kolhâ-
pur

putra Śakasena¹⁸ In two other inscriptions at the same place the name of the reigning prince is given as Gotamīputa Śrī Yañña Śātakaṇi (Gotamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarni)¹⁹ In one of these the year that is given is not legible, but still appears to be the sixteenth of his reign There is one inscription at Nāsik which is dated in the seventh year of that king²⁰ Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl has brought to light the name of another prince There is according to him an inscription on the Nānāghaṭ in which is recorded the dedication of a cistern of water in the thirteenth year of Vāsīṭhiputa Chatarapana Śātakaṇi

A large number of coins of copper and lead were discovered a few years ago, buried in what appears to have once been a Buddhist stūpa at Kolhāpur Another hoard had been found some time previous in about the same locality The legends on those coins are in characters the forms of which greatly

¹⁸ No 19, Jour B B R A A S, Vol VI and Vol XII, p 409 In the first copy the name is clearly Sakasenasa, but in the second, which is Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl's rubbing, something like an effaced mark for the vowel *i* appears above the first two consonants The Paṇḍit, therefore, reads the name as Śrisenasa for Śrisenasya, but the *k* is distinct even in his copy *Sikṛ* cannot mean anything, wherefore it appears that the indistinct marks which do not occur in the first copy are due to some flaw in the rock, and do not represent the vowel *i* Dr Bhāu Dāji also read the name as Sakasenasa But the copy of the inscription given in Plate LI Vol V of the Archaeological Survey of Western India and marked No 14 leaves no doubt whatever on the point The name there is distinctly *Sakasenasa* Further confirmation if necessary will be found later on It is therefore clearly a mistake to call the king *Śrisena*.

¹⁹ Nos 4 and 44, Jour B B R A A S, Vol VI

²⁰ No 4, Jour B B R A A S, Vol VII, and Trans Or Congr, 1874, p 339

resemble those in the cave inscriptions above noticed Section IV.
They are as follows²¹

Raṇṇo Vasīṭhīputasa Viḷivāvakurasa

Raṇṇo Gotamīputasa Viḷivāyakurasa

Raṇṇo Maḍharīputasa Sevalakurasa

Here we have the same names as before, but the words Viḷivāvakurasa and Sevalakurasa have not yet been interpreted by any student of Indian antiquities. On a former occasion I put forth a conjecture that they were the names of the viceroys of those kings appointed to govern the country about Kolhāpur²². For, coins of two of these princes and of a few others belonging to the same dynasty are found near Dharanīkoṭ in the Gantur District about the site of Dhanakāṭaka, the old capital. The legends on these do not contain those words, and the coins are of a different type from those found at Kolhāpur. These last, therefore, it appeared to me, were struck on this side of the country, and consequently bore the names of the viceroys under whose authority they were issued. The truth of this conjecture I will demonstrate further on. It will be seen from what is to be stated hereafter that the Vāsīṭhīputa of these coins who had Viḷivāyakura for his viceroy can be no other than Vāsīṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi [21]. The Gotamīputa must be Gotamīputra Yajña Śātakaṃ of the inscriptions, for the father of Puḷumāvi did not reign on this side of the country, as none of the inscriptions are dated in his

²¹ Jour B B R A S, Vol XIII, p 305, and Vol XIV, p 153-54. There are in my possession coins of lead of the same size as those figured here, and a good many smaller ones in which I find the same legends as those given above. They also were found at Kolhāpur. Some of the smaller ones appear to be of bronze.

²² Jour B B R A S, Vol XIV, p 154.

Section IV

Names of
princes on
the Supârâ
coin

reign though his exploits are described in the Nâsik Caves Maḍharîputa must have come after Gotamîputa and not after Vâsiṭhîputa, as is maintained by some scholars, for his viceroy was a different person from that of the other two. The fact that these two had the same viceroy shows that one of them immediately succeeded the other. Another prince with a different viceroy could not come between them. In the stûpa dug out at Supârâ, Paṇḍit Bhagvânîlâl found a silver coin in a copper casket. On the obverse of the coin, which bears a well-shaped head of the king, we have the legend Rañño Gotamîputasa Sîri Yañña Sâta kanisa, which means "[this coin is] of the king Gotamîputra Sîri Yajña Sâtakarni." This therefore is the prince in whose name the coin was issued. There is another legend on the reverse which though some of the letters are not distinct appears to be *Gotamîputa-Kumâru-Yañña - Sâtakani-Chaturapanasa* the sense of which is "[this coin is] of Chaturapana Yañña Sâtakani, prince of Gotamîputa."²³ The coin was thus like the Kolhâpur coins issued in the names

²³ The nether portions of the letters *chaturapanasa* only are impressed on the coin so that the reading is somewhat doubtful, but *panasa* is distinct enough. Paṇḍit Bhagvânîlâl puts *Chaturapanasa* at the beginning of the legend and reads *Chaturapanasa Gotamîputa Kumâru Yañña Sâtakani* which he translates "Yajña Sâtakarni, son of Gotamîputa, and prince of Chaturapana," and states his belief that Chaturapana was the name of Yajña Sîri's father. But to connect Kumâru, which forms a part of a compound with the genitive, Chaturapanasa, is grammatically not allowable, while the genitive which is always required to show whose coin it is, is wanting. Hence Chaturapanasa is the last word and the whole is a compound, Kumâru is probably a mistake for Kumâra and Yañña Sâtakani is the father's name placed before Chaturapanasa to show that he was his son. (Journ B B R A S, Vol XV, pp 395-6)

of two persons, of whom Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi was the reigning sovereign, as his name appears round the bust, and Chaturapana who was his son represented him as viceroy in the province in which the coin was issued, and which from the shape and get-up of the coin appears to have been once ruled over by the Kshatrapas of Ujjayīni or Kāñhērī

There is an inscription at Kāñherī which is in a mutilated condition, but which with the help of Mr West's eye copy and an impression given in one of Dr Burgess' Reports has been partially restored by Dr Bühler. Therein is made the dedication of a water cistern by Śāteraka who was the confidential counsellor of the Queen of Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇi, who belonged to the family of the Karddamakas and was the daughter of a Mahākshatrapa whose name is obliterated. The opening letters of the second line have also been effaced, but what we might expect to find there is the name of her son, after we have had those of her husband, family, and father. From the letters in West's copy which look like *Sakarāja* one might think the son meant was Śakasena, still the conjecture is somewhat hazardous²⁴. The name of this Vāsishṭhī [22] putra is Śātakarṇi, wherefore he was not Puṣumāvi, but very likely Chatushparṇa (Chaturapana) Śātakarṇi.

Thus then, from these inscriptions and coins we arrive at the names of the following kings arranged

²⁴ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI and Archæol. S. of W. I., Vol. V, Inscription No. 11, also p. 78 of the latter. There would be nothing improbable in it if we here read the name of Śakasena. For this name and that of his mother Maḍhari point to a connection with the Śakas whose representatives the Kshatrapas were, and this connection is unfolded in this inscription.

Section IV in the chronological order indicated by the forms of
 the characters used and by other circumstances

Kṛishṇarâja

Śâtakarni

Kshaharâta Nahapâna and his son-in-law

Ushavadâta

Gotamîputra Śâtakarni

Vâsishṭhîputra Puṣumâyî

Gotamîputra Śrî Yajña Śâtakarni

Vasishṭîputra Chatushparna (Chaturapana or
 Chatarapana) Śâtakarni

Maḍharîputra Śakasena

Besides these, we have the name of Simuka
 Śâtavâhana, a king that reigned earlier than the
 second in the above list We shall hereafter assign
 to him his proper place

[23] SECTION V

NATIVE AND FOREIGN PRINCES MENTIONED IN THE
INSCRIPTIONS — IDENTIFICATION OF THE FORMER
WITH THE ANDERABHRITYAS OF THE
PURÂNAS

THE first thing that will strike one on looking at the list given at the end of the last section, is that the name Kshaharâta Nahapâna is not Indian but foreign. The title Kshatrapa or Mahâkshatrapa also used in the case of that king, is not Indian, though it is the Sanskritised form of a foreign one, very likely the Persian *Satrap*. From the statement in the inscription of Gotamîputra that he destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, it appears that the country was at that time very much exposed to the inroads of these foreigners. Yavanas were the Bactrian Greeks, but Kshaharâta Nahapâna does not look a Greek name. He must, therefore, have been either a Śaka or Pahlava. Again, we are told that Gotamîputra left no remnant of the race of Khagârâta or Khakhârâta which name seems to be the same as Kshaharâta or Khaharâta as it is spelled in the Kârli and Junnar inscriptions. It follows, therefore, that the Śakas or Pahlavas made themselves masters of the country some time between the second king in the above list and Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi, and that they were driven out by Gotamîputra who, by thus recovering the provinces lost to his dynasty, re-established, as stated in the inscription, the glory of the Śâtavâhana race to which he belonged. All the other kings named above belonged to that dynasty.

Section V

Nahapâna,
a Śaka

Śakas and
Pahlavas
over-
thrown by
Gotamî-
putra

Now, in the Purânas we have lists of kings and dynasties that ruled over the country. The earliest dynasty with which we are here concerned is the

Purânic
dynasties

Section V

Maurya founded by Chandragupta in B C 320, as determined by his relations with Seleucus, one of the generals and successors of Alexander the Great. It ruled over Northern India for 137 years according to the Purâṇas, and the last king Bṛhadratha was murdered by his general Pushyamitra or Pushpamitra, who founded the Śunga dynasty. This was in power for 112 years and was succeeded by the Kāṇva family which ruled for forty-five years. The Kāṇvas were overthrown by Sīpraka, Sindhuka, or Śisuka, as he is variously named, who founded what the Purâṇas call the dynasty of the Andhrabhṛityas, that is, Andhras who were once servants or dependents. The second king of this dynasty was Kṛishna according to all, the third was Śātakarṇi or Śrīśātakarṇi according to the Vāyu or Viṣṇu, while the Bhāgavata corrupts the name slightly to Śāntakarṇa. The Mātsya interposes three more kings between Krishna and Śātakarṇi, while the Viṣṇu has another Śātakarṇi to correspond with that of the Mātsya. Gotamīputra is the thirteenth prince according to the Vāyu, fifteenth according to the Bhāgavata, seventeenth according to the Viṣṇu, and twenty-second according to the Mātsya. Pulimat, Purimat or Pulomat was his successor [24] according to the Viṣṇu, the Bhāgavata, or the Mātsya. These are so many mislections for the Puṣumâyī of our inscriptions and coins. The Vāyu omits his name altogether. His successor was Śiva Śrī according to the Viṣṇu and the Mātsya, while the Bhāgavata calls him Vedaśiras, and the Vāyu does not notice him. Yajña Śrī occurs in all, being placed after Śivaskandha, the successor of Śiva Śrī, by all except the Vāyu, which assigns to him the next place after Gotamīputra.

Thus then, the names occurring in the inscriptions and on the coins as well as the order sufficiently

agree with those given in the Purânas under the Andrabhṛitya dynasty to justify us in believing that the kings mentioned in both are the same. There is, however, no trace of Chātushpārṇa Śātakarni unless we are to identify him with Chanḍasri Śātakarni. The name Maḍharipuṭra Śakāsena also does not occur in the Purânas, and he appears to have belonged to a branch of the dynasty. We shall hereafter assign to him his place in the list. Simuka, whose name occurs in the Nânîghât inscription, and who, as I have already observed, was an earlier occupant of the throne than the reigning prince Śātakarni the third in the Purânic list, must be the same as Śisuka, the founder of the dynasty. For the Devanâgarî *ma* is often so carelessly written as to look like *sa*, hence the true Simuka was corrupted to Śisuka, Śisuka, or Śisuka, in the course of time. The Sindhuka of the Vâyu and the Sīraka of the Vishnu are further corruptions. This identification is rendered probable also by the consideration that he who caused the cave to be constructed, and the statues of himself and the younger princes to be carved, might, to give dignity to his race, be expected to get the founder of the dynasty also represented there, especially as he was removed only one degree from him. In this manner the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty of the Purânas is the same as the Śātavāhana dynasty of the inscriptions.

Section V

The Śātavāhanas of the inscriptions same as the Andhrabhṛityas of the Purânas

[25] SECTION VI

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ANDHRABHŪTĪYAS OR
ŚĀTAVĀHANAS

Section VI

The
dynasty of
Nahapāna
not the
same as
that of the
Satraps of
Ujjayinī
and
Kāthiāvāḍ

THE next question we have to consider is as regards the dates of these princes. In my paper on the Nāsik cave inscriptions¹, I have accepted A D 319 as the date of Gotamīputra's accession, arrived at by taking B C 315 as the year in which Chandragupta founded the dynasty of the Mauryas at Pāṭaliputra, and 664 years to have elapsed between him and Gotamīputra, since the periods assigned in the Purānas to that dynasty and the subsequent ones, and the durations of the reigns of the Andhrabhūtya princes who proceeded Gotamīputra according to the Mātsya when added, give 664. The "race of Khagārāta," which Gotamīputra is, as observed before, represented in one of the Nāsik inscriptions to have exterminated, I identified with the dynasty of the Kshatrapas whose coins are found in Kāthiāvāḍ, as well as a few inscriptions, since Kshaharāta or Khagārāta was also a Kshatrapa and had been placed at the head of the dynasty by previous writers. The latest date on the coins of those princes then known was 250, which referred to the Śaka era, is A D 328. This comes so close to Gotamīputra's A D 319, that the two seemed to corroborate each other. But there are several objections to this view, some of which occurred to me even then (1)—The inscriptions and coins of the Kshatrapa dynasty concur in carrying the genealogy backward to Chashtana and no further, and as yet nothing has turned up to show that any connection existed

¹ Trans Or Congr, 1874

between him and Nahapâna (2)—If the Kshatrapa or Satrap dynasty held sway over Mahârâshtra for about three hundred years as it did over Kâthiâvâḍ, we might reasonably expect to find in that country inscriptions or coins of most of the princes, but a few coins of the later ones only have been discovered in a village near Karâḍh² and no inscription whatever (3)—Rudradâman in his Junâgaḍ inscription calls a Śâtakarni, 'lord of Dakṣinapatha', which he would not have done if he had been the ruler of even a part of the Dekkan (4)—And the dates occurring on some Satrap coins recently discovered are said to be 300 and 304³ which referred to the Śaka era A D 378 and 382, that is, the Satraps were in power even long after A D 340, which is the date of Gotamîputra's death according to the Purânic accounts For these reasons it would appear that the "race" of Khagârâta or Nahapâna which Gotamîputra put an end to and which ruled over this country before him, could not have been the dynasty of the Satraps (5)—Besides, according to my former view, the interval between Nahapâna and Gotamîputra is about 200 years, but the difference in form between the characters in Ushavadâta's and Gotamîputra's inscriptions is not great enough for that period Hence the two princes must be brought closer together

[26] From the Greek geographer Ptolemy we learn that in his time the country inland from the western coast was divided into two divisions of which the northern was governed by Siro Polemios whose capital was Paithan, and the southern by Baleocuros who lived in Hippocura Siro Polemios is evidently

Ptolemy's
Siro Pole-
mios the
same as
Siri
Pujamâyi
and his
Baleocuros
the same as

² Jour B B R A S, Vol VII, p 16

³ Ind Ant Vol VI, p 57, Note, and Genl Cunningham's Arch Report, Vol XI, p 127

Section VI
Viṣivāya-
kura

the same name as the Sīri Puṣumâyi or Puṣumâyi of the inscriptions corresponding to the Pulomat, or Puṣumat of the Purâṇas. But there were two kings who bore that name, one the son of Gotamīputra, mentioned in the inscriptions, and another an earlier prince of the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty. This last does not appear to have been a prince of any note, wherefore very likely the former is the one spoken of by Ptolemy. But the question is almost settled by the mention of Baleocuros as the Governor of the southern provinces. We have seen that in the legends on the Kolhâpur coins the name Viṣivāyakura is associated with that of Puṣumâyi and of Gotamīputra. Viṣivāyakura is the same as Balocura, and I have already stated that the reason why his name, in my opinion, occurs along with those of the two princes of the Śâtavâhana dynasty, and on Kolhâpur coins alone, while it does not occur on those found in the lower Godâvarī districts, is that he was the viceroy of those princes ruling over the country about Kolhâpur. This country answers to the southern division mentioned by the Greek geographer as being governed by Baleocuros. The Sīro Polemios therefore of Ptolemy is the same as the Puṣumâyi of the inscriptions and coins.

Puṣumâyi
began to
reign about
130 A. D.

Ptolemy died in A. D. 163, and is said to have written his work after A. D. 151. Puṣumâyi, therefore, must have been on the throne some time before this last date. We will now proceed to reconcile this date with those mentioned in the inscriptions, and to determine more particularly the date of Puṣumâyi's accession. Some of Ushavadâta's benefactions were founded in the years 40, 41 and 42, and the latest date connected with Nahapâna is that in the inscription of his minister Ayama at Junnar, viz., 46. These dates should, I think, be referred to the Śaka

era For, we have seen that before the time of Section VI
 Gotāṃputra, the country was subject to the inroads
 of Śakas and other foreign tribes, and the Scythians
 who are identified with the Śakas had, according to
 the Greek geographers, established a kingdom in
 Sind and even in Rājputānī The era known by the
 name of the Śaka and referred to in all the early
 copper-plategrants as the era of the Śaka king or
 kings must have been established by the most power-
 ful of the Śaka invaders,⁴ who for the first time

⁴ Prof Oldenberg thinks Kanishka to be the founder of the era but this view is, I think, untenable (1)—A dynasty of three kings only cannot perpetuate an era The dynasty of the Guptas composed of seven kings was in power for more than a hundred and fifty years, but their era died a natural death in the course of a few centuries (2)—The characters in Kanishka's inscriptions, especially the ja as conjoined with a preceding consonant, are later than those we find in the first century One has simply to compare Inscription No 1 in Plate XIII of the third volume of General Cunningham's Arch Reports with No 4 to see the great difference in the forms of the letters in the times of the earliest Kshatrapas and of Kanishka The former belongs to the time of the Kshatrapa Śodāsa and the letters are almost like those we find in Ushavādāta's inscriptions at Nāsik, while those in the latter, which is dated in the ninth year of Kanishka, are considerably later, and both the inscriptions exist in Mathurā (3)—There is no ground to believe that Kanishka reigned over Gujarāt and Mahārāshtra, but the Śaka era began to be used very early, especially in the last country (4)—The Guptas whose gold coinage is a close imitation of that of the Indo-Scythian dynasty, came to power in A D 319 while the last of the three kings Kanishka, Hushka and Vāsudeva must, if the reign of the first began in A D 78, have ceased to reign about A D 178, i e, about 100 years after the foundation of the dynasty And the latest date of Vāsudeva is 89 If so, an interval of 140 years must have elapsed between the last of the Indo-Scythian kings and the first Gupta, but the close resemblance in the coinage necessitates the supposition

Section VI [27] obtained a permanent footing in the country, and Nahapâna and Chashâna⁵ or his father must have been his Satraps appointed to rule over Western India, and Mâlva. On this supposition the latest date of Nahapâna must correspond to A D 124. Gotamîputra or Puṣumâyî therefore must have acquired possession of this country after that year. The earliest date of Puṣumâyî occurring in the inscriptions is the second year of his reign, and since the inscription could not have borne that date if Nahapâna or his successors had been in power, it is clear that Puṣumâyî began to reign after the overthrow of the latter. Now, we also learn from Ptolemy that Tiastenes reigned at Ozene about the time when he wrote, and was therefore a contemporary of Puṣumâyî. Tiastenes has, I think, been reasonably identified with Chashâna. But accord-

that it was much shorter. Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta era was 241 Śaka, i.e., 319 A D, has been pronounced unreliable by some antiquarians. As to this point and the era of the Satrap dates, see Appendix A.

⁵ Professor Oldenberg considers Chashâna to be a Satrap appointed by Gotamîputra, a supposition which is unwarrantable, since a prince like Gotamîputra whose aim was to expel and destroy foreigners cannot be expected to appoint a foreigner, as Chashâna's name indicates he was, to be a viceroy, and to use a foreign title, and we have seen that Balocuros, who was a viceroy of that monarch or of his son, does not use that title. Rudradaman, the grandson of Chashâna, appointed, as we see from his Junâgaḍ inscription, a Pahlava of the name of Surisâkha, who was the son of Kulapa, to govern Surishtra and Anarta. This circumstance confirms what we gather from other sources, namely, that this was a dynasty of princes of a foreign origin, who had adopted Hindu manners and even names, had in some cases entered into marriage alliance with native royal families, and were domiciled in the country.

ing to the Junâgaḍ inscription noticed above, Chashṭana's grandson Rudradâman was the reigning prince in the year 72, which, taking the era to be the Śaka, is 150 A D Chashṭana and Puḷumâyī therefore could not have been contemporaries in 150 A D Ptolemy's account must, in consequence, refer to a period much earlier, *i e* to about the year 132 A D, since about eighteen or twenty years at least must be supposed to have elapsed between the date of his information when Chashṭana was on the throne and the year 150 A D when his grandson was in possession of it, his son Jayadâman having occupied it for some time in the interval Again, in the nineteenth year of Puḷumâyī, Gotamīputra was in possession, according to the large inscription at Nāsik, of a good many of those provinces which, according to the Junâgaḍ inscription, were conquered and ruled over by Rudradâman The date 72 in the inscription seems to refer to the sweeping away by a storm and excessive rain of the dyke on one side of the lake therein mentioned and not to the cutting of the inscription on the rock So that it is doubtful whether Rudradâman had conquered those [28] provinces before 72 or did so after 72 and before the incision of the inscription Supposing he conquered them before 72, the nineteenth year of Puḷumâyī must correspond at least to the second or third year before A D 150, that is, Puḷumâyī must have begun to reign, at the latest, about the year A D 130 And even if we understand him to have conquered them after 72, Puḷumâyī's accession cannot be placed much later, for the interval between Chashṭana who was Puḷumâyī's contemporary and his grandson Rudradâman who was reigning in 150 A D will be considerably shortened Nahapâna or his successor must thus have been overthrown by

Section VI — Gotamîputra or Puṣumâyî about five or six years at the most after his latest recorded date, viz A D 124

Relations
of Gotamî-
putra and
his
successors
with Naha-
pâna,
Chashṭana
and Rudra-
dâman

The history of the relations of these princes appears to be this Nahapâna was a Satrap ruling over Mahârâshṭra His capital was probably Junnar since the inscriptions at the place show the town to have been in a flourishing condition about that time, and we have a record there of the gift of his minister He must have died soon after 46 Śaka or A D 124 Gotamîputra and Puṣumâyî came from the south-east to regain the provinces lost to their family, overthrew Nahapâna's successor, whoever he was, killed all his heirs, and re-established their power over this side of the country This appears to be what is meant by Gotamîputra's having been represented in the Nâsik inscription to have "left no remnant of the race of Khagârâta," and to have "regained the prestige of his family" Chashṭana founded or belonged to another dynasty of Satraps which reigned at Ujjayinî In the Junâgaḍ inscription, men of all castes are represented to have gone to Rudradâman and chosen him their lord for their protection,⁶ and he is spoken of as having re-established the kingdom that had been lost,⁷ himself assumed the title of the Great

⁶ The expression is सर्वधर्मेभिरभिगम्य रक्षणायै पतिते हतेन Ind Ant, Vol VII, p 260, 1, 9

⁷ In Paṇḍit Bhagavānlâl's transcript in Vol VII, Ind Ant, the reading is भट्टराजप्रतिष्ठापकेन But in a foot-note Dr Bühler says that the correct reading may be राज्ञ्य for राज In Dr Bhâu Dâjî's copy of the inscription the व्य is distinct, p 118, Vol VII, Jour B B R A S Bhâu Dâjî and Paṇḍit Bhagvānlâl translate this expression by "obtained glory of great exploits by the re-establishment of *deposed kings*," (p 20, Vol VII, Jour B B R A S), and "he who has restored to their thrones

Kshatrapa, conquered Akarâvantî, Anûpa, Surâshîtra, Aparânta and other provinces which, as we have seen, were owned by Gotamîputra, and some more, and as having twice subdued Śâtakarṇi, the lord of Dakshinâpatha, but still not destroyed him in consequence of his connection⁸ with him not being remote [29] and acquired a good name on that account. The meaning of all this appears to me to be this Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi, after having destroyed Nahapâna or his successor, turned his arms against another dynasty of foreigners that was ruling at Ujjayinî. Or the Kshatrapa sovereign of Ujjayinî, Chashṭana, or very probably his son Jayadâman, having observed the growing power of Gotamîputra or Puṣumâyî who had put an end to a kindred family of rulers, and desirous of preventing his further growth, must have attacked him. A fact such as this must be the basis of the popular stories about a king of Ujjayinî having attacked Śâlivâhana at Paithan and been defeated by him. Śâlivâhana is but

deposed kings," (p 260 a, Vol VII, Ind Ant) If राज were the reading, this translation would of course be correct, but with राज्य it is far fetched. There is nothing here to show that the lost *râjya* or kingdom re-established by Rudradâman was any other person's than his own. So that, it looks natural to understand him to have re-established (his own) lost kingdom.

⁸ The reading is सवधादूरतया. It is allowable to insert त and take it as सवधावदूरतया. But the sense of the word, which is "remoteness," will not suit the context, as he could not have "acquired a good name," i.e., been esteemed by people for not destroying the Lord of the Dekkan on account of the remoteness of the connection. Remoteness or distance of the country would compel one to let his enemy alone, and there could be no virtue in it. The व therefore in the word must have crept in through mistake, wherefore the true reading must be सवधादूरतया.

Section VI another mode of pronouncing Śātavāhana,⁹ and Puṣumâyī or Gotamīputra was a Śātavāhana. The ruler of Ujjayinī was defeated and pursued by the victorious Gotamīputra into his own dominions, when the latter subjugated Avantī, Anūpa, Surāshṭra and Aparānta, and dethroned Jayadāman. For a time he and his successors held sway over the territories owned by Chashṭana, but subsequently Rudradāman collected a band of followers, the same as those that are represented in the inscription as having chosen him their lord, and driving away the Śātavāhanas, regained his lost kingdom and got himself crowned as Mahākshatrapa. But as appears from the Supārā coin of Yajña Śrī which bears such striking resemblance to the Kshatrapa coins and is so unlike the Kolhāpur coins of that monarch, large or small, and from the fact that his son Chaturapana was his viceroy or representative, the Śātavāhanas retained possession of a part at least of the Kshatrapa territories up to the time of Yajña Śrī. They even entered into blood relationship with the Kshatrapas, as we learn from the Kānheri inscription, which speaks of the wife of Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarni being the daughter of a Mahākshatrapa. But Rudradāman pursued his victories and according to his Junāgaḍ inscription twice conquered Śātakarni the lord of Dakṣhināpatha, but did not destroy him, and acquired a good name by his forbearance towards one whose connection with him was not remote. Thus the lord of Dakṣhināpatha that he conquered was Yajña Śrī Śātakarni. He could not have been his son Chaturapana, for the expression "non-remoteness of the connection" suits the former better than the latter, as Chaturapana's wife was the daughter of a

Mahâkshatrapa, perhaps his own and the connection with him was positively close. The re-acquisition of his lost kingdom by Rudradâman took place after the nineteenth year of Puşumâvi's reign, that is, after about A.D. 130. It is in this way alone that the scraps of information derived from the Greek writers and gathered from inscriptions, coins, and popular legends as well as the dates, can be made to harmonize with each other. Section VI

But the date thus assigned to Gotamîputra is not consistent with that derived from the Mâtsya Purâna. Our next endeavour, therefore, should be to ascertain whether none of the Purânas agrees sufficiently with the conclusion arrived at, and, if any does, to account for the [30] great discrepancy between it and the Mâtsya and others. That there is very little agreement among them as regards the Andhrabhritya dynasty, I have already indicated above. The genesis of our Puranic literature seems to be this. Certain versified accounts of certain things, purporting to be narrated by a bard to Rishis assembled together at a sacrificial session, were handed down orally from generation to generation, and these were after some time committed to writing. The later Purânas, devoted to the exaltation of a particular deity and to the inculcation of certain doctrines, derived their accounts of these things from the earliest written Purânas and not from the oral tradition. Of the works of this class which I am going to compare for our present purpose, the oldest appears to me to be the Vâyu, and next to it the Mâtsya. The Vishnu is later, and the Bhâgavata, the latest. The text of the old Purânas gradually became corrupt, and the authors of the later ones were in some cases misled by their incorrect readings.

Dates of
the Andhra-
bhrityas
as deter-
mined from
the Purânic
accounts

enumeration, the Mâtsya omits two, and the Bhâgavata, one, and the total of the years assigned to each prince in the Vâyu exceeds 112. There is evidently some mistake here, but if we take the general statement to be the correct tradition handed down, the dynasty became extinct in B C 73. The dynasty next mentioned is that of the Kâṇvas or Kâṇvâyanas. There were four princes of this line, and they reigned for forty-five years, though the Bhâgavata, through a mistake to be explained hereafter, makes the period to be 345 years. They were [31] followed by the Andhrabhṛtyas. But here, there is a statement in the Vâyu and the Mâtsya, the like of which does not occur in the account of the other dynasties. The founder of the Andhrabhṛtyas, Sindhuka, according to the first Purâṇa, and Śiśuka, according to the other, is said to have uprooted not only the Kâṇvas, but "whatever was left of the power of the Śuṅgas"¹⁰. And the Kâṇvas are pointedly spoken of as Śuṅgabhṛtyas or "servants of the Śuṅgas"¹¹. It, therefore, appears likely that when the princes of the Śunga family became weak, the Kâṇvas usurped the whole power and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns, and this supposition is strengthened by the fact that like the Peshwas

Of the
Kâṇvas

¹⁰ काण्वायनस्त (मत्त) सो भूय सुशर्माण प्रसङ्ग तम् । युद्धानां चैव यच्छेषं क्षययित्वा बलं तदा ॥ सिन्धुको अन्धजातीय प्राप्स्यतीनां वसुधराम् ॥
Vâyu

"A servant of the race of the Andhras having destroyed Suśarman of the Kâṇva family with main force and whatever will have been left of the power of the Śungas, will obtain possession of the earth." The statement in the Mâtsya is similar.

¹¹ चत्वारः युद्धभृत्यास्तै रूपा काण्वायना द्विजा । Vâyu

Of the
Andhra-
bhṛityas

Section VI they were Brâhmans and not Kshatriyas. Thus then these dynasties reigned contemporaneously, and hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the Sungas includes the 45 assigned to the Kânvas. The Sungas and the Kânvas, therefore, were uprooted, and the family of the Andhrabhṛityas came to power in B C 73. In a general way, the number of princes belonging to this line is given as thirty in the Vâyu, the Vishnu, and the Bhâgavata, and twenty-nine in the Mâtsya, and the total duration is stated to be 411 years in the first, 456 in the second and the third, and 460 in the fourth. The disagreement here is not great, wherefore the tradition as to thirty princes and about 456 years may be accepted as correct. But the discrepancy between this general statement and the more particular accounts that follow, as well as the disagreement between the several Purânas in this last, is very great. This will be apparent from the following table —

[32] Thus, the Vâyu has seventeen princes and 272 years and a half, and the Mâtsya, thirty and 448 and a half. The Vishnu gives twenty-four names and the Bhâgavata, twenty-two. This last Purâna has in many cases corrupted the names and confounded Hâla with the Arishṭakarman of the Vishnu, whom it names Anishṭakarman Hâleya. It also omits the fifth prince of the Vishnu Purâna. The details given in the Mâtsya come very close to the general tradition and thus confirm it. Should we then attribute the very great discrepancy between these details and those of the Vâyu to the corruption of the text of the latter? Two or three names might drop away in this manner, but the omission of thirteen names and the reduction of the total duration by 176 years must I think be accounted for in

Vāyu		Mātṛya		Viṣṇu		Bhāgavata
Names	Duration of reign in years	Names	Duration of reign in years	Names	Names	Names
Sindhuka	23	Śiśuka	23	Śipraka	Name not given, but mentioned as a Vṛi-śhala or Śādra	
Kṛishna	10	Kṛishṇa	18	Kṛishna	Kṛishna	Kṛishna
		Mallakarni	10 or 18	Sri Śātakarni	Śātakarni	Śātakarni
		Purnotsanga	18	Purnotsanga	Purnotsanga	Purnotsanga
		Skandhastambhi	18			
Śātakarni	56	Śātakarni	56	Śātakarni		
		Lambodara	18	Lambodara	Lambodara	Lambodara

Section VI

[32]

Vayu		Mātṛya		Viṣṇu		Bhāgavata	
Names	Duration of reign in years	Names	Duration of reign in years	Names		Names	
Apṭaka	12	Apṭaka	12	Isṭaka		Havilaka	
		Meghasvāti	18	Meghasvāti		Meghasvāti	
		Svlti	18				
		Skandhasvāti	7				
		Meghendrasvātīkara	3				
		Kuntalasyālti	8				
		Svātīkara	1				
		Pulomivi	36	Patumat		Atamāna	
Paṭmāna	21	Gaurakṛpīṣma or		Arishṭakarmān		Anishṭakarmān	
Nembakṛpīṣma	25	Naurikṛpīṣma					
Ilṭa	1	Ilṭa	25	Ilṭa		Tafaka	
Svptaka or Mandapaka	5	Mandulaka	5	Pattalaka			
Paṭṭakṛpīṣma	21	Parindrasena	5	Pravillasena		Parishabhiṭra	
Sṭakarmu	1	Sundara Svātīkara	1	Sundara		Sundana	
Chakora Sṭakarmu	1/2	Chakora Svātīkara	1/2	Chakora		Chakora	
Svāsvlti	28	Svāsvlti	28	Svāsvlti		Svāsvlti	
Gautamiputra	21	Gautamiputra	21	Gomatiputra		Gomatiputra	
		Pulomāt	28	Pulomāt		Purimān (mat)	
		Svāsvlti	7	Svāsvlti		Vedāśiras	
		Svāsvlti Sṭakarmu	7	Svāsvlti Sṭakarmu		Svāsvlti Sṭakarmu	
		Yajñāśṭi Sṭakarmu	29	Yajñāśṭi		Yajñāśṭi	
			6	Vijaya		Vijaya	
		Pindāśṭi Sṭakarmu	3	Chandraśṭi		Chandraśṭi	
		Pulomāvi	7	Pulomāvi		Sulomādi	

some other way. Besides the tradition about 456 Section VI
 years, there is a statement in the Vāyu Purāṇa, in a
 verse below, to the effect that the "Andhras will
 have possession of the earth for three hundred Two tradi-
 tions about
 the duration
 of the
 Andhra-
 bhṛta
 dynasty—
 150 and
 300 years
 years,"² which seems to point to another. That
 such a tradition existed is indicated by the mistake
 in the Bhṛta-vāṇa by which the Kīṇvas are assigned
 three hundred and forty five years. The original
 account, which the author of this Purāṇa must have
 [33] seen, probably assigned forty-five years to the
 Kīṇvas and three hundred to the next or Andhra-
 bhṛta dynasty. But since that dynasty was also
 assigned another duration, viz. 150 years, he con-
 nected the "the three hundred" with the preceding,
 and gave 345 years to the Kīṇvāṇa family. Now,
 the manner in which the two traditions are to be
 reconciled is by supposing that the longer period is
 made up by putting together the reigns of all the
 princes belonging to the several branches of the
 Andhrabhṛta dynasty. That the younger princes
 often reigned at Paṭṭan and the elderly ones at
 Dhanaṇṇa appears clear when we compare the
 inscriptions with the statement in Ptolemy. When
 the throne at the principal seat became vacant, the
 Paṭṭan princes succeeded. But some probably died
 before their elders and never became kings of
 Dhanaṇṇa. From an inscription found at
 Banavāsi by Dr. Burgess it would appear that another
 branch of that dynasty ruled over Kānarā. The
 period of three hundred years and the seventeen The lower
 period
 refers to
 the main
 branch of
 the family
 names given in the Vāyu Purāṇa refer probably to
 the main branch. The Mātsya seems to me to put
 together the princes of all the branches, and thus
 makes them out to be thirty. The total of the years

Section VI assigned to the several reigns in the Vâyu is $272\frac{1}{2}$, and if we should suppose one or two reigns lasting for about twenty-eight years to have dropped out by the corruption of the text, it would become $300\frac{1}{2}$. Thus then the Vâyu and the Mâtsya Purânas each give a correct account, but of different things. The Vishnu, which gives twenty-four princes, is not entitled to so much credit as the Vâyu. It is a later work and the author's purpose being sectarian, he probably did not care so much for the accuracy of his details, and hence omitted even the duration of each reign. The Bhâgavata is still more careless, as has already been shown.

Date of the
accession
and death
of Gotamî-
putra

If then we take the account in the Vâyu Purâna to refer to the main branch of the dynasty and consequently generally correct, the period that intervened between the rise of the Śâtavâhanas or Andhrabhṛityas and the end of the reign of Śivasvâtî is 206 years¹³. The dynasty must, as we have seen, have been founded in B C 73, wherefore the end of Śivasvâtî's reign and the accession of Gotamîputra must be placed in A D 133. We have seen that Puṣumâyî, whose capital was Paṭṭaṇ according to Ptolemy, and who from the inscriptions appears to have been king of this part of the country and to have reigned contemporaneously with his father, must have begun to reign at Paṭṭaṇ about 130 A D. The father and the son drove the foreigners from the Dekkan, and the son was established as the ruler of the regained provinces, Gotamîputra expecting to succeed to the throne at the original seat of the family. Gotamîputra reigned for twenty-one years according to the Purânas, wherefore he must have died in 154 A D. He was alive, as stated before, in

¹³ By adding up the numbers in the table

the eighteenth year of Puḷumâyī, 1 c in 148, and also in the nineteenth when the cave temple was dedicated, and not alive in the twenty-fourth, 1 c in 154, according to the two inscriptions [34] mentioned before Ptolemy's mention of Puḷumâyī I have already referred to about the year 132, so that, the date deduced from this source, and those derived from Gotamīputra's and Puḷumâyī's inscriptions at Nâsik and Rudradâman's at Junâgaḍ on the supposition that the era used in this last is the Śaka, as well as those derived from the Purâṇas may thus be shown to be consistent with each other. The dates of all the princes whose names we find in the inscriptions may therefore be thus arranged

Simuka began to reign in B C 73 and ceased in B C 50

Kṛishṇa began in B C 50 and ceased in B C 40

Sâtakarnī (third in the Vâyu P) began in B C 40 and ceased in A D 16

Nahapâna Kshaharâta

Gotamīputra began in A D 133 and ceased in A D 154

Of the other
princes
mentioned
in the
inscriptions

If the twenty-eight years assigned to Puḷumâyī in the Mâtsya Purâṇa are to be reckoned from the year of Gotamīputra's death, he must be considered to have begun to reign at Dhanakaṭaka in A D 154, and to have ceased in A D 182. He reigned at Paṭṭhaṇ from A D 130 to A D 154, that is, for about twenty-four years, and we have seen that the latest year of his reign recorded in the inscriptions at Nâsik and Kârlī is the twenty-fourth. Altogether then his reign lasted for fifty-two years. But if the twenty-eight include the twenty-four for which he ruled at Paṭṭhaṇ, he must have died in 158. This supposition looks very probable. He was succeeded by Śivasrī, whose coin found in the Tailangana districts has been described by Mr Thomas in the Indian Antiquary, Vol IX, p 64. He appears to have been Puḷumâyī's

Of
Puḷumâyī

Puḷumâyī's
successors

Section VI

Yajña Śrī

brother, since he also is styled on the coin Vāsishthī-puta, i e , Vāsishthīputra, or the son of Vāsishthī. He had a reign of seven years and must have died in A D 165. Śivaskanda was the next king, to whom also seven years have been assigned. There is no trace of these two princes on this side of the country, while the name of the next, Yajña Śrī, occurs frequently as we have seen in inscriptions and coins. He appears to have been Puṣumâyī's immediate successor at Paṭhaṇ. His full name was Gotamīputra Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi, and he is, as observed before, the Gotamīputra of the Kolhāpur coins. Some copies of the Mātsya assign him twenty-nine years, others nine, and twenty, and the Vāyu, twenty-nine, while the Brahmāṇḍa allows him nineteen. Probably he reigned in Mahārāshṭra for eighteen or nineteen years, since the sixteenth year of his reign is his latest recorded date, and for twenty-nine years at Dhanakaṭaka since, according to our supposition, the Vāyu Purāṇa gives an account of the Dhanakaṭaka branch and his coins are found in Tailaṅga. And this is confirmed by what we have already said. Puṣumâyī reigned at Dhanakaṭaka for four years and his two successors for fourteen. All this while, i e , for eighteen years, Yajña Śrī was ruler of Mahārāshṭra. He must thus have ceased to reign in the last country in about A D 172 and died in about A D 202. The next three reigns lasted, according to the Vāyu, for sixteen years. No trace of any of these has yet been found on this side of the country, but coins of Chandra Śrī are found near the original seat of government, and two of these are described by Mr Thomas in the paper mentioned above. Thus the [35] latest Andhrabhṛitya date is A D 218. Maḍharīputa Sakasena of the Kānherī inscription, the same

as the Maḍharîputa of the Kolhâpur coins, has been identified with Śiva Śrî, the successor of Puḷumâyî, by Paṇḍit Bhagvânîlâl, and I also at one time concurred with him. But the identification is not, I think, tenable. He was probably led to it by his reading Sirîsena for Sakasena, but I have shown that the reading is incorrect. Mr Thomas has described a specimen of eleven coins found at Amrâvatî near Dharanikoṭ, the legend on which he reads as *Sakasakasa*, but it is not unlikely *Sakasenasas*, "of Sakasena." Besides, Maḍharîputra Śakasena could not have been the immediate successor of Puḷmâyî for a reason which I have already given. One of the Kolhâpur coins figured by Paṇḍit Bhagvânîlâl Indrajî bears the names of both Gotamîputa and Maḍharîputa, showing that the piece originally bearing the name of one of them was re-stamped with the name of the other. Mr Thomas thinks that it was originally Maḍharîputa's coin. I think it was Gotamîputa's, for, if we see the other figured coins we shall find that they are so stamped as to leave some space between the rim and the legend. This in the present case is utilized and the name of Maḍharîputa stamped close to the rim, which shows that the thing was done later. Maḍharîputra Śakasena, therefore, must have been a successor of Gotamîputra Yajña Śrî Śâtakarṇî. But, as we have seen, none of his three Purâṇic successors bore the name, and the name Śakasena is one which has nothing like it on the long list of the Andhrabhṛtyas. Still that king must have reigned at Dhanakaṭaka also if my surmise that Mr Thomas' Sakasaka is the same as Sakasena is correct. In the same manner, as observed before, Chatusparṇa Śâtakarṇî's name Chaturapana does not appear in the Purâṇas. But the Purâṇas

Section VI cannot be expected to give accurate information on these points. In the *Mâtsya Purâṇa* another Andhra dynasty of "seven princes sprung from the servants of the original Andhrabhṛtya family will," it is said, "come into power after that family becomes extinct"¹⁴. The *Vâyu* has got a similar verse the reading of which, however, is corrupt, but it appears that this new dynasty is there meant to be spoken of as having sprung from the Andhrabhṛtya family itself and must have constituted a separate branch cut off from the main line. And we can very well understand from the points already made out how such a branch could have constituted itself after Yajña Śrī's ceasing to reign. Vâsishṭhīputra Śâtakarni whom I have identified with Chaturapana married a Kshatrapa lady. The Kshatrapas, as I have before observed, were foreigners, most probably Sakas who had become Hindus. Maḍharīputra was not unlikely the son of that lady. And thus he and his father Chaturapana formed, from the very fact of this marriage, a distinct line of princes. Chaturapana appears to have succeeded Yajña Śrī, and Maḍharīputra to have reigned after Chaturapana. The durations of these reigns cannot be made out, but the latest date of the former is the thirteenth year of his reign, which probably corresponds [36] to 185 A.D. and of the latter the eighth. The dates of the later Śâtavâhanas are therefore these.

Dates of the
later Śâtavâhanas

In Mahārāshṭra

Puṣṭamayi	A.D. 130—A.D. 154
Yajña Śrī	A.D. 154—A.D. 172
Chatushpama or Chaturapana	A.D. 172—was reigning in A.D. 182
Maḍharīputra	About A.D. 190—was reigning in about A.D. 197

14 चन्द्राय सखिता (न०) राजे नपा भूयान्वये दया । सखीवाम्ना
सखिदन्ति

*In Tallangana*Section VI.

Puḷumāyi	A D 154—A D 158
Śiva Śri	A D 158—A D 165
Śivaskanda	A D 165—A D 172
Yajña Śri	A D 172—A D 202
Vijaya	A D 202—A D 208
Chandra Śri	A D 208—A D 211
Pulomavi	A D 211—A D 218

Thus then, the Andhrabhrityas or Śâtavâhanas ruled over the Dekkan from B C 73 to about A D 218, *z c*, for about three centuries. For some time, however, they were dispossessed of the country by foreigners who belonged to the Śaka tribe. How long these were in power it is difficult to determine. If the Śaka era was established by the foreign conqueror after his subjugation of the country, and if his Satrap Nahapâna or his successor was overthrown by Gotamîputra or Puḷumâyi, six or seven years after Nahapâna's latest date, *viz* 46, the foreigners held possession of this country only for about fifty-three years.

[37] SECTION VII

POLITICAL AND LITERARY TRADITIONS ABOUT THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS OR ŚĀLIVĀHANAS

Section VII

THE period during which the Śātavāhanas or Andhrabhrityas ruled over Mahārāshṭra must have been a prosperous one in the history of the country. Hence several traditions with regard to different kings of this dynasty have been preserved. But that Śālivāhana or Śātavāhana was a family name has been forgotten, and different princes of the dynasty have been confounded and identified. Thus Hemachandra in his *Deśikośa* gives Śālivāhana, Śālana, Hāla, and Kuntala as the names of one individual, but we see from the list given above that the last two were borne by different princes, and both of them were Śālivāhanas. In his grammar he gives Śālivāhana as a Prākṛit corruption of Śātavāhana. In modern times the Śaka era is called the Śālivāhana era or an era founded by Śālivāhana. When it began to be attributed to him it is difficult to determine precisely. All the copper-plate grants up to the eleventh century speak of the era as Śālanṛpaḥāla, *i e*, the era of the Śaka king, or Śakakāla, *i e*, the era of the Śaka, and in an inscription at Bādami it is stated to be the era beginning from "the coronation of the Śaka king." Subsequently, the simple expression "Śāke, in the year of the Śaka," was used, and thereafter Śake or "in the Śaka." The word Śaka thus came to be understood as equivalent to "an era" generally, the original sense being forgotten. And since the era had to be connected with some great king it was associated with the name of Śālivāhana whom tradition had represented to be

Śālivāhana
Śāla

such a king, and thus we now use the expression Section VII
 Śālivāhana Śaka, which etymologically can have no Legend
 sense and is made up of the names of two royal about
 families. The current legend makes Śālivāhana the Śālivāhana
 son of a Brāhman girl who was a sojourner at
 Paṭṭhaṇ and lived with her two brothers in the house
 of a potter. On one occasion she went to the
 Godivari to bathe, when Śeṣha, the king of serpents,
 becoming enamoured of her, transformed himself into
 a man and embraced her. In due course she gave
 birth to Śālivāhana, who was brought up in the house
 of the potter¹. Some time after, king Vikramāditya
 of Ujjayinī, to whom a certain deity had revealed
 that he was destined to die at the hands of the son of
 a girl of two years, sent about his Vetāla or king of
 Ghosts to find out if there was such a child anywhere.
 The Vetāla saw Śālivāhana playing with his girlish
 mother and informed Vikramāditya. Thereupon he
 invaded Paṭṭhaṇ with a large army, but Śālivāhana
 infused life into clay figures of horses, elephants, and
 men, by means of a charm communicated to him by
 his father, the king of serpents, encountered [38]
 Vikramāditya, and defeated him. This descent of a
 king of Ujjayinī on Paṭṭhaṇ I have already alluded to
 and endeavoured to explain. The Śālivāhana referred
 to in this tradition appears to be Puṣumāvi who in
 conjunction with his father freed the country from
 the Śakas and fought with Chasṭana or Javadāman
 and Rudradāman whose capital appears to have been
 Ujjayinī. It was in consequence of some faint remi-
 niscence of Puṣumāvi Śālivāhana's relations with the

¹ The story about the girl and her serpent-lover is in the Kathāsaritsāgara mentioned with reference to Guṇāḍhya who was the son of the girl. Śālivāhana's origin is given differently.

Section VII

Sāta-
vāhana's
name in
connection
with the
Bṛihat-
kathā

Sakas and their Satrap kings that his name was attached to the era first used by his adversaries

There are also several literary traditions connected with the name of Sātavāhana or Śālivāhana. A work of the name of Bṛihat-kathā written in that form of the Prākṛit which is called the Paisāchī or the language of goblins is mentioned by Daṇḍin in his work the Kāvyaādarsa ². Somadeva, the author of the Kathāsaritsāgara, and Kshemendra, the author of another Bṛihat-kathā, profess to have derived their stories from this Paisāchī Bṛihat-kathā. The stories comprised in this are said to have been communicated to Guṇāḍhya, who for some time had been minister to Sātavāhana, by a ghost of the name of Kāpabhūti. They were written in blood and arranged in seven books. Guṇāḍhya offered them to king Sātavāhana, but he refused to receive such a ghastly work written in blood and in the language of goblins, whereupon Guṇāḍhya burnt six of them. Some time after, king Sātavāhana having been informed of the charming nature of those stories went to Guṇāḍhya and asked for them. But the last or seventh book alone remained, and thus the king obtained from his pupils with his permission ³.

Composition
of the
Kātantra
Grammar

It is narrated in the Kathāsaritsāgara that while Sātavāhana was, on one occasion, bathing with his wives in a tank in a pleasure-garden, he threw water at one of them. As she was tired, she told the king not to besprinkle her with water, using the words *modakaish paritādaya mām*. The king not understanding that the first word was composed of two, *mā* "do not" and *udakaish* "with waters," but taking it to be one word meaning "pieces of sweetmeat," caused sweetmeat to be brought and began to throw

pieces at the queen. Thereupon she laughed and told the king that he did not know the phonetic rules of Sanskrit, and that while she meant to tell him not to besprinkle her with water, he had understood her to say that she wanted him to throw pieces of sweetmeat at her. There was no occasion for sweetmeat at the place, and this ought to have led the king to the true sense, but he was not. Thereupon the king was ashamed of his own ignorance while his queen was so learned, and became disconsolate. Gunâdhyâ and Śarvavarman, who were his ministers, were informed of the cause, and the former promised to teach him grammar in six years, though it was a study of twelve. Śarvavarman, however, offered to teach the subject in six months, and his offer was accepted, but as it was not possible to do so, Śarvavarman propitiated the god Kîrtikeya or Skandya by his [39] self-mortifications, and the god communicated to him the first Sûtra of a new grammar *Siddho larnasamamnâyah*. Thereupon Śarvavarman repeated the other Sûtras, when Kîrtikeya said that if he had not been so hasty and allowed him to repeat the whole, the new grammar would have become superior to Pânini's, but since it could not be so now, it would be a small treatise—*Kâtantra*, and would also be called *Kalâpaka* after the tail of his peacock. This new grammar Śarvavarman taught to the king.⁴ The same story is told by Tîrânâtha in his "History of Buddhism,"⁵ but he makes the name of the king to be Udayana, and of Śarvavarman, Saptavarman, while the competitor of Śarvavarman is represented by him to be Vararuchi instead of Gunâdhyâ. But Udayana is represented as a king reigning in Southern India and Śâtavâhana in the form of

⁴ Kathâsaritsâgara, VI 108 & ff

⁵ Schiefner's Translation, p 73 & ff

Section VII Śântivâhana is also mentioned in connection with the story as a southern king in whose dominions Vararuchi lived. As Udayana frequently figures in Buddhistic stories, the southern prince Śâtavâhana is confounded with him, and this seems to be indicated by the fact that this Udayana is represented to have ruled over a country in the south, though the usual Udayana is a northern prince. It will thus appear that the Kâtantra grammar was composed by Śarvavarman at the request of a prince of the Śâtavâhana family. And this same thing appears to be alluded to even by Hwan Thsang when he says in connection with the shortening of the originally large work on grammar by Pânini and others, "lately a Brâhman of South India, at the request of a king of South India, reduced them, further to 2,500 ślokas. This work is widely spread, and used throughout all the frontier provinces, but the well-read scholars of India do not follow it as their guide in practice."⁶

Hâla's
Saptaśati.

There is a work written in the old Mahârâshṭrī dialect called *Saptaśati*, which is of the nature of an anthology consisting of Gâthās or stanzas in the Âryâ metre, mostly on love matters. The author of this is in the third verse mentioned as Hâla, and ordinarily he is spoken of as Śâlivâhana. Bâṇa speaks of it in a verse in the introduction to his *Harshacharita* as "an imperishable and refined repository of good sayings composed by Śâlivâhana." Verses from it are quoted in Dhanika's commentary on the *Dasarûpaka*, in the *Sarasvatī Kaṇṭhâbharana*, and in the *Kâvyaprakâsa*. There is, it will be observed, in the list of the Andhrabhritya princes, one of the name of Hâla, who probably was either the author of the work or to whom it was dedicated by a court-poet.

From these traditions we may, I think, safely con- Section VII
 clude that literature flourished under the rule of the
 Andhrabhītyas, and that the Prakṛits or spoken
 languages, especially the Mahārāṣṭrī, were probably
 for the first time used for literary purposes. In
 Vatsīyana's Kamasūtra or Institutes of Love,
 Kuntala Śatakarni Śātakarṇi is spoken of as having Kuntala
Śātakarṇi
 killed Mahāvatī, who is called [40] Mahādevī, and
 consequently must have been his chief queen, by
 means of a pair of scissors in connection with certain
 amorous sports.⁷ The name Kuntala occurs in the
 list given in the Mātsya Purāṇa

⁷ कर्तार्यो कुन्तल शतकार्णे शतवाहनी महादेवी मलयवती [जघान]

Prof. Aufrecht's quotation in the *Oxf. Cat.*, p. 217 b, does not contain the name मलयवती, and he supplies गणिका from the preceding clause, but a Ganikā or courtesan cannot be called Mahādevī

[41] SECTION VIII

RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF
MAHÂRÂSHTRA UNDER THE ANDERABHITYAS
OR ŚĀTAVĀHANAS

Section VIII

Founders of
Benefac-
tions

DURING this period the religion of Buddha was in a flourishing condition. Princes and chiefs calling themselves Mahâbhojas and Mahârâṭṭhis, merchants (Naigamas), goldsmiths (Suvarnakâras), carpenters (Vardhakas), corn-dealers (Dhânyakaśrenis) druggists (Gândhikas), and ordinary householders (Gṛihasthas) caused at their expense temples and monasteries to be excavated out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of that religion. It has been mentioned that in the first part of this period the country was exposed to the inroads of foreign tribes, such as Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks, Śakas, and Pahlavas. These afterwards settled in the country and adopted the Buddhist religion. For, among the donors and benefactors whose names are recorded in the cave inscriptions, there are a good many Śakas and Yavanas. But some and especially the Śakas seem to have adopted Brâhmanism. The Buddhist temples were provided with *chaityas* or tombs in imitation of those in which some relic of Buddha was buried, and these were objects of worship. The monasteries contained cells intended as residences for Bhikshus or mendicant priests. These travelled over the country during the year and spent the four rainy months at one of these monastic establishments. In the month of Śrâvapa the monks held the ceremony of robing, at which the old clothes were thrown away and new ones worn. To provide these for them, charitable persons deposited, as we have seen,

Wandering
Buddhist
mendicants

sums of money with certain guilds with directions that out of the interest new robes should be purchased and given to the priests. Villages were assigned by kings and their officers for the support of these religious establishments. The mendicant priests often travelled by sea, and hence at the head of several of the creeks in the Konkan we have cave monasteries intended as Dharmasālās or rest-houses for them. We have such caves at Chiplun, Mahid, and Kudem situated respectively on the Dibhol, the Binkol, and the Rājpuri creeks. For those who landed at the head of the Bombay harbour or at Ghodbandar, there were the Kānheri caves.

Brahmanism also flourished side by side with Buddhism. In the inscription at Nāsik in which Ushavādita dedicates the cave monastery excavated at his expense for the use of the itinerant "priests of the four quarters," he speaks, as we have seen, of his many charities to Brāhmins. The same notions as regards these matters prevailed then as now. Ushavādita fed a hundred thousand Brāhmins as the Mahārāj Sindia did about thirty years ago. It was considered highly meritorious to get Brāhmins married at one's expense then as now. Gotamiputra also, in the same inscription which records a benefaction in favour of the Buddhists, is spoken of as the only protector of Brāhmins, and as having like Ushavādita [42] put them in the way of increasing their race. Kings and princes thus appear to have patronized the followers of both the religions, and in none of the inscriptions is there an indication of an open hostility between them.

Brahmanism
equally with
Buddhism in
a flourishing
condition

Trade and commerce must also have been in a flourishing condition during this early period. Ships from the western countries came, according to the author of the Periplus, to Barugaza or Bharu-

Trade and
Commerce

Section VIII kachchha, the modern Bharoch, and the merchandise brought by them was thence carried to the inland countries. Onyx stone in large quantities from Paithan, and ordinary cottons, muslins, mallow-coloured cottons, and other articles of local production from Tagara, were carried in waggons to Barugaza and thence exported to the west. Paithan is placed by the author of the *Periplus* at the distance of twenty days' journey to the south of Barugaza, and is spoken of as the greatest city in Dakshinabades or Dakshinâpatha, and Tagara, ten days' east of Paithan.¹ This town has not yet been identified. Its name does not occur in any of the cave inscriptions, but it is mentioned in a copper-plate grant of the first half of the seventh century, and princes of a dynasty known by the name of Śilâhâra call themselves "sovereigns of Tagara, the best of towns," in all their grants. Some have identified it with Devagiri and others with Junnar, but in both cases its bearing from Paithan as given by the Greek geographers has not been taken into account. I have elsewhere discussed the question, and have proposed Dhârur in the Nizâm's territory as the site of the ancient city. The other sea-port towns mentioned in the *Periplus* are Souppara, the modern Supârem or Supârâ near Bassein and the Śorparaka of the inscriptions and the Purâṇas, where interesting Buddhistic relics were dug out by Mr Campbell and Paṇḍit Bhagvânîlâl, Kalliena, the modern Kalyân, which must have been a place of great commercial importance since a good many of the donors whose names are inscribed in the caves at Kânheri and some mentioned in the caves at

¹ Ind Ant, Vol VIII, pp 143, 144

Junnar were merchants residing in Kalyân,² Semulla Section VIII.

identified with Chembur by some and with Chaul by others, Mandagora, very likely the same as the modern Māṇḍāḍ, originally Mandagaḍa, situated on the Rājapurī creek near Kuḍem where we have the caves, Palaipatmai, which probably was the same as Pāl which is near Mahād, Melizeigara, the second part of the name of which can at once be recognized as Jayagaḍ and which must be identified with that place whatever the first part Meli may mean, Buzantion, and others Buzantion is probably the Vaijayantī³ of the inscriptions, but with what modern town it is to be identified it is difficult to say Vaijayantī is mentioned in the Kadamba copper-plates translated by Mr Telang,⁴ and was most probably some place in North Kānara [43] In a grant of the Vijayanagar dynasty, Mādhava, the great counsellor of king Harihara, is represented to have been appointed viceroy of Jayantīpura⁵ He then conquered Goa and seems to have made that his capital⁵ Jayantīpura is said to be another name for Banavāsī In the Sabhāparvan of the Mahābhārata, Banavāsī is spoken of as if it were the name of a country, and immediately after it, Jayantī is mentioned as a town⁶ If then Jayantī and Vaijayantī were two forms of the same name, Vaijayantī was probably the modern Banavāsī, or perhaps in consideration of the facts that the name of

² See the inscriptions in Jour B B R A S, Vol VI, and in Arch Surv, W India, No 10

³ Kārli No 1, Arch Surv West Ind, No 10

⁴ Jour B B R A S, Vol XII pp 318 and 321

⁵ Jour B B R A S, Vol IV, p 115

⁶ Chap XXXI, vv 69 and 70, Bom Ed The Vanavāsīnāḥ at the end of v 69 refers to the town or country of Banavāsī and ought properly to appear as Vanavāsīkān In the Purāṇas, too, Vanavāsīkān is given as the name of a people

Section VIII Vaijayantī occurs in an inscription at Kârlī and also that the Greek geographers in mentioning the places of note on the coast could not have run at once from Jayagaḍ to the southern limit of North Kânarâ, Vaijayantī may be identified with Vijayadurg. But these objections are not of very great weight.

**Inland
towns**

It is not possible to ascertain the names of all the towns in the inland country that were in a flourishing condition during the time we have been speaking of. Besides Paṭṭhaṇ and Tagara there was Nâsik, which is mentioned in an inscription in one of the caves at the place and also at Beḍṣâ. The district about the town was called Govardhana. Junnar was another flourishing town, as is attested by the number of cave-temples at the place. But what its name was we do not know. The name Junnar, Junanara, Jârnanagara, or Jîrnanagara, which means the old town, must have been given to it after it had lost its importance. I have already expressed my belief that it was the capital of Nahapâna. Puṣumâyī, who overthrew the dynasty of Nahapâna, is in one of the Nâsik inscriptions styled "lord of Navanara," meant probably for Navanagara or the new town. That he reigned at Paṭṭhaṇ we know from Ptolemy, and also from the many traditions about Śâlivâhana which locate the person or persons bearing that name at that city. The Navanara, then, of the inscription was probably another name given to the town when Puṣumâyī re-established his dynasty, and, in contrast with it, Nahapâna's capital was called the "Old Town." Or perhaps Puṣumâyī windened the old town of Paṭṭhaṇ and called the new extension Navanara. What town existed near the group of caves at Kârlī and the adjoining places, we do not know. But the place spoken of in connection with the monastic establishment is in an inscription

named Valuraka,⁷ and the district in which it was situated is called Māmalābhāra,⁸ or the district of Māmala, the modern Māval. Further south there was the town of Karahāṭaka, the modern Karhāḍ, which is mentioned in an inscription at Kuḍerṇ⁹ and also in the Mahābhārata.¹⁰ Kolhāpur also must have been a flourishing town in those days, since a Buddhist stūpa containing the coins [44] we have already noticed and other remains of antiquity have been found there. The old name of the place is unknown. Either Karhāḍ or Kolhāpur must be the Hippocura of Ptolemy in which he locates Baleocuros whom we have identified with the Vīlvāyakura of the Kolhāpur coins.

Persons engaged in trade and commerce probably acquired large fortunes. The great *chaitya* cave at Kārli was caused to be constructed by a Śeth (Śreshṭhin) of Vaiṣṇayantī, and in other places also, especially at Kānherī, their gifts were costly. There were in those days guilds of trades such as those of weavers, druggists, corn-dealers, oil-manufacturers, &c. Their organization seems to have been complete and effective, since, as already mentioned, they received permanent deposits of money and paid interest on them from generation to generation. Self-government by means of such guilds and village communities has always formed an important factor of the political administration of the country. A *nigamasabhā* or town-corporation is also mentioned in one of Ushavadāta's Nāsik inscriptions, which shows that something like municipal institutions existed in those early days. It is also worthy of

Trade-guilds

⁷ No 14, Kārli Arch Surv West Ind, No 10

⁸ *Ibid* No 19

⁹ No 20, Kuḍā Caves Arch Surv West Ind, No 10

¹⁰ In the place above referred to

Section VIII remark that the yearly interest on the 2000
kārshāpanas deposited by Ushavadāta was 100
kārshāpanas, and in another case that on 1000 and
Rate of 75 showing that the rate of interest was not so high
Interest as it has been in recent times, but varied from five
to seven and a half per cent per annum If the rate
of interest depends on the degree of security and
bears an inverse ratio to the efficiency of govern-
ment, it appears that the country was well governed
notwithstanding political revolutions To this result
the efficient local organization spoken of above, which
no changes of dynasties ever affected, must no doubt
have contributed in a large measure

Communica- Communication between the several provinces
tion between does not appear to have been very difficult Bene-
different factions of persons residing in Vaijayantī or Banavāsī,
parts of the and Śorparaka or Supārā, are recorded in the cave
country at Kārli, of a Nāsik merchant at Beḍsā, of some
inhabitants of Bharukachchha and Kalyāṇ at Junnar,
of natives of Northern India and Dāttāmitrī, which
I have elsewhere shown was situated in Lower Sindh,
at Nāsik, and of an iron-monger of Karahākaḍa or
Karhād at Kuḍem On the other hand, gifts of
natives of Nāsik and Karhād are recorded on the
stūpa at Bharhut which lies midway between
Jabalpur and Allahābād¹¹ Unless there were
frequent communications between these places, it is
not possible that the natives of one should make
religious endowments at another

¹¹ Cunningham's Stupa of Bharhut, pp 131, 135, 136, 138, 139

[45] SECTION IX

PROBABLE HISTORY OF THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE
EXTINCTION OF THE ANDHRABHŪTĪYAS AND THE
RISE OF THE CHĀLUKYAS

For about three centuries after the extinction Section IX.
of the Andhrabhūṭiyas, we have no specific information about the dynasties that ruled over the country. The Mātsya and the Vāyu, as observed before, place seven princes of a branch of the Andhrabhūṭiyas after them, and I have given reasons to believe that the Madharīputra of the inscription and the coins referred to before was one of them. This branch seems to have been in possession of the whole extent of the country that was ruled over by their predecessors. If the fact, noticed before, of some coins of the later Kshatrapa kings being found in a village near Karhād is to be regarded as evidence of their sway over this country and not to be attributed merely to commercial intercourse, the Kshatrapa dynasty also must be considered to have obtained possession of a portion at least of the Dekkan after the Śātavāhanas. The earliest of these princes is Vijaya Sāha¹ (or Sena) whose date is 144² which, if the era is that of the Śaka kings, corresponds to A D 222, while the latest date we have assigned to the Śātavāhanas is about A D 218. The last of the princes whose coins are found near Karhād is Viśva Sāha (Sena), one of whose coins has the date 214 and another 224, corresponding to A D 292 and A D 302³. About this time princes of

¹ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII, p. 17

² *Ibid* p. 28 (No. 10)

³ *Ibid* No. 15

Section IX
 Abhīras

the race of Ābhīras or cowherds must have come into power Ten of them are mentioned in the Purāṇas In the Nāsik caves there is an inscription dated in the ninth year of Vīrasena Ābhīra, the son of Damari and of Śivadatta Ābhīra ⁴ The characters in the inscription, though they do not differ much from those in the inscriptions of the later Andhrabhṛitya kings, must be regarded as more modern The language is Sanskrit, which I regard as an indication of a later era When the popular dialect became different from the Pāli, or the Pāli became less sacred, the people fell back upon the original Sanskrit for such purposes as those of recording religious gifts, and thus in all the later grants we find the Sanskrit used, while, from the times of Aśoka to the extinction of the Andhrabhṛityas, the language used was mostly the Pāli, or, to speak more accurately, one or more of the Prākṛits of the period The Ābhīras were in power for sixty-seven years according to the Vāyu Purāṇa Many other dynasties are mentioned in the Purāṇas as having ruled over the country But the information given there is much more confused than in the case of the previous families It appears that the dynasties that ruled over different parts of India at the same time are put together and confused with those that succeeded each other, so that it is not possible without extraneous assistance to determine their chronological relations

Rāshṭra-
 kūṭas

[46] We have seen from the cave inscriptions that from remote times tribes of Kshatriyas calling themselves Bhojas and Raṭṭhis or Rāshṭṛikas were predominant in the country In the northern part of the Dekkan or Mahārāshṭra these called them-

⁴ Jour B B R A S, Vol VII, No 15, and Trans Inter Con 1874, p 341

selves "the Great Raṭṭhis or Mahāraṭṭhis, the Section IX. ancient Marāṭhās," but in other places the name in use must have been Raṭṭhis or Raṭṭhas, since we know of more modern chiefs in the Southern Marāṭhā Country who called themselves by that name. Some of the Raṭṭha tribes must have formed themselves into a family or group (kūṭa) and called themselves Raṭṭhakūṭa, and later on Rāṭhoḍa, the Sanskrit original of which is Rāshṭrakūṭa. Or the Rāshṭra-kūṭa family was so called because it was the main branch of the race of the Raṭṭhas that had spread over the whole country. These native chiefs that ruled over the country must have been held in subjection by the Andhrabhrityas during the continuance of their power, and also by the later Kshatrapas. But after the dynasties became extinct they must have resumed their independence. The Ābhīras held sway for some time and over a part of the country only, for the tradition of Gauḷi or cowherd rulers which very probably refers to them is confined to the Nāsik and Khândes districts. The Rāshṭrakūṭas probably rose to power about the same time as the Ābhīras. Hence in the inscriptions on the Miraj plates and the Yevur tablet first brought to light by Mr Wathen and Sir Walter Elliot,⁵ respectively, it is stated that Jaysimha, the founder of the Chālukya dynasty in the Dekkan, established himself in the country after having vanquished Indra, the son of Kṛishna of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family. The Chālukya dynasty was, as will hereafter be seen, founded in the beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era. From about the end of the third to the beginning of the

⁵ Jour. R. A. S., Vols II., III., IV., Ind. Ant., Vol VIII., p. 12

Section IX sixth century, therefore, the Dekkan was ruled over
— by princes of the Râshtrakûṭa family

Traikûṭakas An inscription on copper-plates found in the *chaitya* of one of the caves at Kânheri is dated in the 245th year of a dynasty, which, if the word has been correctly lithographed, is called Strakûṭaka⁶ But the published copy of the inscription was made in the time of Dr Bird and the plates themselves are not now available for re-examination This Strakûṭaka, may be a mislection for Râshtrakûṭa But it is not unlikely Traikûṭaka, as the late Pandit Bhagvânâlâl contended He has published a copper-plate charter issued from the camp of the victorious army of Traikûṭakas by a prince of the name of Darhasena⁷ in the year 207 Traikûṭaka was thus probably the name of a race and the prince belonged to it And the Kânheri inscription would show that this dynasty had an era of its own From the form of the characters in the inscription, it appears that it was engraved in the latter part of the fifth century of the Christian era, so that the Traikûṭaka dynasty was founded about the middle of [47] the third century, i.e., after the extinction of the Śâtavâhanas But further information about the dynasty is not available, and we do not know over what extent of country it ruled But since the epoch of the era appears to be the same as that of the era used by the kings of Chedi, possibly the race of the Haihayas or Kalachuris which ruled over that province rose to power about 249 A.D. and held sway over a part of the Dekkan including the western coast up to the country of Lât They were

⁶ Jour B B R A S, Vol, V, p 16, of the copies of the Kânheri inscription

⁷ Jour B B R A S, Vol XVI, p 346

afterwards driven away by some other race and had to confine themselves to Chedi. The resemblance between the names Tripura and the capital of the dynasty and Trikûṭa is perhaps not fortuitous

Section IX

[48] SECTION X

THE EARLY CHÂLUKYAS

Section X

Legendary
origin

We will next proceed to an account of the princes who belonged to the dynasty called Chalukya, Chalukya, or Châlukya¹ A large number of inscriptions on copper-plates and stone tablets have amply elucidated the history of this dynasty, The legendary origin of this family is thus given by

¹ Dr Fleet draws a distinction between Chalukya and Châlukya and asserts that "this last form belongs only to the restored dynasty commencing with Taila II" and that "it does not occur in any of the genuine early inscriptions" But it does belong to the earlier dynasty also, and is found in genuine early inscriptions The best way to determine the point whether the first syllable was च or चा is to refer to verses containing the name, the metre of which will show the quantity unmistakably The inscriptions of the earlier dynasty are in prose, we must therefore refer to the versified grants of the Râshtrakûṭas which speak of the dynasty supplanted by them In the Râdhanpur grant of Govinda III (Ind ant, Vol VI, p 65), we have यशालुक्कुलादनुन &c, in verse 3 In the Navasâri grant edited by me (Jour B B R A S, Vol XVIII, p 257), we have चालुक्यवंशजलुधे स्वयमेव लक्ष्मी &c In three of the five grants of the eastern branch of the early dynasty edited by Dr Hultzsch we have चालुक्यानां कुलम् (South Indian Inscriptions, Vol I, pp 44, 47 & 57) The form चालुका is also frequently used The distinction between च and चा and the difference in sense in consequence of the lengthening of the vowel which Dr Fleet points out have place in the pure Sanskrit of Pânini and of the Brahmanas, but there is no room for them in names that came into use in the Prakrit period long after Sanskrit became a dead language Chalukya was some vernacular name which was Sanskritized into the various forms we actually find

Bilhana, the author of the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, or life of *Vikramāditya* a prince of the later or restored *Chālukya* line. On one occasion when *Brahmadeva* was engaged in his morning devotions, *Indra* came up to him and complained of the sinfulness of the world in which no man performed the sacrificial rites or gave oblations to the gods. *Brahmadeva* looked at his *chuluka* or the hand hollowed for the reception of water in the course of his devotional exercise, and from it sprang a mighty warrior who became the progenitor of the *Chālukya* race. Some time after, two great heroes of the name of *Hārita* and *Mānavya* were born in the family and they raised it to very great distinction. The original seat of the dynasty was *Ayodhyā*, and in the course of time a branch of it established itself in the south.

*As stated in the opening lines of all the copper-plate grants of this family, the *Chālukyas* belonged to the *Gotra* or race of *Mānavya* and were the descendants of *Hārita*. They were under the guardianship of the Seven Mothers and were led to prosperity by the god *Kārtikeya*. They obtained from *Nārāyana* a standard with a boar represented on it, and fighting under that standard they subjugated all kings. The *Yevur* tablet and the *Miraj* plates, referred to above, agree with *Bilhana* in representing *Ayodhyā* as the original seat of the family. But since these were almost contemporaneous with the poet, all the three represent only the tradition that was current in the eleventh century. The first prince who raised the family to [49] distinction in the south was *Jayasimha*. He fought several battles with the reigning princes, and, among them, those belonging to the *Rāshtrakūṭa* family, if the *Yevur* tablet is to be trusted, and acquired the

Jayasimha,
the first
prince

have been a Kalachuri prince, as the name Śamkara-gana frequently occurs in the genealogy of the dynasty. Mangalīsa is said to have carried his arms to both the eastern and the western seas. On the coast of the latter he conquered what is called Revatīdvīpa, or the Island of Revatī. A copper-plate grant by a governor of this island was found near Goa,⁴ from which it would appear that Revatī was very probably the old name of Reḍī⁵ situated a few miles to the south of Vengurlem. In an inscription in a cave-temple at Bādāmī, it is stated that the temple⁶ was caused to be excavated by Mangalīsa. He there placed an idol of Vishnu, and on the occasion of its consecration granted a village, out of the revenues of which a ceremony called Nārāvanabali was to be performed and sixteen Brāhmans to be fed every day, and the residue to be devoted to the maintenance of recluses. This inscription is dated in the twelfth year of some reign when 500 years of the Śaka era had elapsed. The reign in the [50] twelfth year of which the cave-temple was consecrated is taken to be the reign of Mangalīsa. On this supposition Mangalīsa began to reign in 489 Śaka, but I have elsewhere⁷ brought forward what I consider to be very strong arguments to show that Mangalīsa could not have come to the throne so early as that, and the only criticism⁸ that I have seen on my observations seems to me to be very unsatisfactory and serves only to confirm my statement. The reign referred to, therefore, is that

⁴ Jour B B R A S, Vol X, pp 365-6

⁵ Revatī should, according to the usual rules, be corrupted to Revaḍī or Re a-ḍī and then to Reḍī

⁶ Ind Ant, Vol III, p 305

⁷ Jour B B R A S, Vol XIV, pp 23-25

⁸ Ind Ant, Vol X, 57-58

thus reigned from 489 Śaka or A D 567 to 513 Śaka Section X
or A D 591, that is, for twenty-four years

In the latter years of his reign Mangaliśa seems Death of Mangaliśa
to have been engaged in intrigues to keep his brother's son Pulakesi off from the succession and to place his own son on the throne. But Pulakesi, who had grown to be a prince of remarkable abilities, baffled all his intrigues, and by the use of energy and counsel he neutralized all the advantage that Mangalīsa had by the actual possession of power, and in the attempt to secure the throne for his son, Mangalīsa lost his own life and his kingdom.

Pulakesi, the son of Kirtivarman, succeeded Pulakesi II
His full title was Satyīśrava Śrī Pṛthvī-Vallabha Mahārāja. From a copper-plate¹⁰ [51] grant executed in the third year of his reign and in 535 Śaka, he appears to have come to the throne in 533 Śaka or A D 611. After Mangalīsa's death, the enemies whom his valour had kept in subjection rose on all sides. A prince of the name of Appāyika and another named Govinda who very probably belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa race, since that name occurs frequently in the genealogy of that family, attacked the new Chālukya king. The former, who had horses from the northern seas in his army, fled away in fear when opposed by the powerful forces of Pulakesi, and the latter surrendered to him and becoming his ally was received into favour and rewarded.¹¹ He then turned his arms against the Kadambas, attacked Banavāsī, their capital, and reduced it. The prince of the Ganga family which

¹⁰ Ind Ant, Vol VI, p 73

¹¹ Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p 242, line 8 of the inscription. From the words *cha*, *ckena* and *aparena* it is clear that two persons are here meant. But Dr Fleet in his translation makes both of them one, which is a mistake, and the translation, I must say, is unintelligible.

Section X

ruled over the Chera¹² country situated about the modern province of Maisur, and the head of the Alupa¹³ race which probably held the province of Malabâr, became his allies. He then sent his forces against the Mauryas of the Konkan, who were vanquished without any difficulty. With a fleet of hundreds of ships he attacked Puri,¹⁴ which was the mistress of the western sea, and reduced it. The kings of Lâṭa, Mâlava, and Gûrjara were conquered and became his dependents. About this time, there was a powerful monarch in Northern India whose name was Harshavardhana. He was king of Kanoj, but in the course of time made himself the paramount sovereign of the north. He then endeavoured to extend his power to the south of the Narmadâ, but was opposed by Pulakesi, who killed many of his elephants and defeated his army. Thenceforward, Pulakesi received or assumed the title of Paramesvara or lord paramount. This achievement was by the later kings of the dynasty considered the most important, and that alone is mentioned in their copper-plate grants in the description of Pulakesi II. Pulakesi appears to have kept a strong force on the banks of the Narmadâ to guard the frontiers. Thus, by his policy as well as valour, he became the supreme lord of the three countries called Mahârâshṭrakas containing ninety-nine thousand villages. The kings of Kosala and

¹² Ind Ant, Vol I, p 363, and Vol VII, p 168

¹³ The name of the royal family seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupa on the Malabâr Coast

¹⁴ The town is called the Lakshmi of the Western Ocean. It was probably the capital of the Maurya king of the Konkan and afterwards of the Śilâhâras

Kalunga¹⁵ trembled at his approach and surrendered to him. After some time he marched with a large army against the king of Kañchapura or Conjevaram and laid siege to the town. He then crossed the Kaveri and invaded the country of the Cholas, the Pandyas, and the Kerulis. But these appear to have become his allies. After having in this manner established his supremacy throughout the south, he entered his capital and reigned in peace. The date of the inscription from which the greater [52] portion of this narrative is taken is 556 Saka, corresponding to A.D. 634; so that Pulakesi's career of conquest had closed before A.D. 634.

It was in the reign of this king that Hwan Thsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, visited India. In the course of his travels through the country he visited Mahāshetra, which he calls *Mo-lo-la-chi*. He saw Pulakesi, whom he thus describes: "He is of the race of *Pe-ta-li* (Kshatriyas), his name is *Pu-to-li-che*; his ideas are large and profound and he extends widely his sympathy and benefactions. His subjects serve him with perfect self-devotion."¹⁶ About Pulakesi's having withstood the power of Harshavardhana which we have before mentioned on the authority of inscriptions, Hwan Thsang speaks in these words: "At present the great king Śīladitya (Harshavardhana) carries his victorious arms from the east to the west, he subdues distant peoples and makes the neighbouring nations fear him, but the people of this kingdom alone have not submitted. Although he be often at the head of all the troops of the five Indies, though he has summoned the bravest generals of all the kingdoms,

Hwan
Thsang's
account

¹⁵ For the position of these countries, see Sec. III para. 2.

¹⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 290.

Section X

and though he has marched himself to punish them, he has not yet been able to vanquish their opposition. From this we may judge of their warlike habits and manners.¹⁷ The Chinese traveller visited Mahârâshtra about the year A D 639, that is, five years after the inscription referred to above was incised. The kingdom, according to him, was six thousand *li* (1200 miles) in circuit and the capital was thirty *li*, and towards the west was situated near a large river. The soil, climate, and the character and general condition of the people of Mahârâshtra are thus described by him. "The soil is rich and fertile and produces abundance of grain. The climate is warm. The manners are simple and honest. The natives are tall and haughty and supercilious in character. Whoever does them a service may count on their gratitude, but he that offends them will not escape their revenge. If any one insult them they will risk their lives to wipe out that affront. If one apply to them in difficulty they will forget to care for themselves in order to flee to his assistance. When they have an injury to avenge they never fail to give warning to their enemy, after which each puts on his cuirass and grasps his spear in his hand. In battle they pursue the fugitives but do not slay those who give themselves up. When a general has lost a battle, instead of punishing him corporally, they make him wear women's clothes, and by that force him to sacrifice his own life. The state maintains a body of dauntless champions to the number of several hundreds. Each time they prepare for combat they drink wine to intoxicate them, and then one of these men, spear in hand, will defy ten thousand enemies. If they kill a man met upon the road the law does not punish them. When-

ever the army commences a campaign these braves march in the van to the sound of the drum Besides, they intoxicate many hundreds of naturally fierce elephants At the time of their coming to [53] blows they drink also strong liquor They run in a body trampling everything under their feet No enemy can stand before them The king, proud of possessing these men and elephants, despises and slights the neighbouring kingdoms "

Pulakesi II appears undoubtedly to have been the greatest prince of this dynasty, and his fame reached even foreign countries He is represented in an Arabic work to have sent an embassy to Chosroes II, king of Persia, who reigned from A D 591 to A D 628, in the thirty-sixth year of that prince's reign, and must have received one from him, either before or after¹⁸ During his reign the power of the Châlukyas was established over a very large extent of country His younger brother Vishnuvardhana, otherwise called Vishamasiddhi, seems to have for some time been appointed to rule over the Sâtârâ and Pandharpur districts, since a copper-plate inscription of his found at Sâtârâ records the grant of a village situated on the southern bank of the Bhîmâ¹⁹ Vishnuvardhana afterwards obtained the province of Vengi between the lower Kṛishṇâ and the Godâvarî, where he founded another flourishing branch of the Châlukya dynasty Pulakesi's second brother Jayasîmha must have been his brother's viceroy in the district about Nâsik For, in a copper-plate grant found in the Igatpurî tâluka of the district, Nâgavardhana, the son of Jayasîmha, assigns the village of Balegrâma, which has been identified with the modern Belgâm

¹⁸ Arch Sur W India No 9 pp 90-92

¹⁹ Jour B B R A S, Vol II, p 11

Section X. Tarhâjâ about twelve miles to the north-east of Igatpurî, for the worship of the god Kâpîlkesvara ²⁰ The district in which the village was situated is in the grant called Goparâshṭra Similarly, Pulakesi's eldest son Chandrâditya ruled over the province which contained the Sâvantvâḍî district In a copper-plate grant, Vijayabhāṭṭārikâ, the queen of Chandrâditya, who is styled Prithvivallabha and Mahârâja or great king, assigns to certain Brâhmins a field along with the adjoining *Khajjana* (modern Khâjana) or marshy land in the village of Kocharem situated on the coast about seven miles to the north of Vengurlem In another grant found at Nerur, she assigns a field in the fifth year of *svarājya* or "one's own reign " Now the reign referred to by this expression must be her husband's, so spoken of to distinguish it from that of his brother Vikramâditya, the second son of Pulakesi, who succeeded his father at the chief seat of government Chandrâditya was a king, as the titles above given show, and it is proper that his crowned queen should speak of his reign as *svarājya* or her reign It is not necessary that charities such as those recorded in these grants should, like political offices or rights, be conferred by the reigning prince alone The religious merit arising from them is sought [54] by women as much as by men, and hence a woman like Vijayabhāṭṭārikâ might, during the lifetime of her husband, give a field The fact of her doing so does not necessitate the supposition that she was a ruler or a regent when she made these grants, as has been thought She was simply the crowned

²⁰ Jour B B R A S, Vol II, p 4, first translated by Bâli Śastri and then by me (Jour B B R A S, Vol XIV), and last of all by Dr Fleet (Ind Ant, Vol IX, p 123)

queen of a reigning monarch at that time Another Section X.
son of Pulakesi named Âdityavarman seems to have Âditya-
varman
ruled over the district near the confluence of the
Kṛishnâ and the Tungabhadra,²¹ as a copper-plate
grant of his issued in the first year of his reign was
found in the Karnul District An undated grant
of Pulakesi found at Chiplun in Southern Konkan
has recently been published In it he sanctions the
grant of the village of Âmravâtaka made by his
maternal uncle Śrīvallabha Senânandarâja "the Sendraka
race
ornament" of the Sendraka race²² This appears to
be a family of minor chiefs with whom the
Châlukyas were connected A similar grant was
made by the next king at the request of the Sendraka
chief Devasakti²³ Inscriptions of Sendrakas are
found in Gujarât also, where probably they went
when the power of the Châlukyas was established in
that province The name Sendraka is probably
preserved in the modern Marâthâ name Sinde

Pulakesi was succeeded by his second son Vikram-
Âditya I
Vikramâditya In the grants he is called Pulakesi's
priyatanaya or favourite son, so that it appears that
Pulakesi had arranged that Vikramâditya should
succeed him at the principal seat of government, and
had assigned an outlying province to his eldest son
Chandrâditya At the beginning of this reign as
of the previous ones there was a disturbance, but
it did not come from the princes or chiefs more to
the north who seem to have now been permanently
humbled, but from the far south The Pallava king
of Kâñchî or Conjeveram and the rulers of the

²¹ Ind Ant, Vol X, p 244, and Jour B B R A S,
Vol XVI, p 223

²² Epigraphia Indica, Vol III, p 51

²³ Jour B B R. A S, Vol XVI, p 228 See also
below

Section X Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas, and the Keralas threw off the yoke which Pulakeśi had but loosely placed over them, and rebelled. Vikramāditya, who was a man of abilities and daring adventure, broke the power of the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, and Keralas. He defeated the Pallava king, captured his capital Kāñchī, and compelled him, who had never before humbled himself before anybody, to do him homage. On the back of his horse Chitrakaṇṭha and sword in hand he is said to have repelled all the enemies that attacked him. In this manner he acquired again the whole of the dominions ruled over by his father, and became the paramount sovereign of the country "between the three seas" ²⁴

A branch
of the
Chālukya
dynasty
established
in southern
Gujarāt

During the reign of Vikramāditya I a branch of the Chālukya dynasty was founded in southern Gujarāt or the country called Lāṭa in ancient times. Vikramāditya seems to have assigned that province to a younger brother named Jayasimhavarman Dharāśraya, [55] who thus was another son of Pulakeśi II. ²⁵ Śrīyāśraya Śīlāditya son of Jayasimha made a grant of land while residing at Navasārī in the year 421, ²⁶ and another in 443 while encamped at Kusumeśvara with his victorious army. ²⁷ In both of these Śrīyāśraya is called Yuvarāja or prince-regent and not a king. Another son of Jayasimha named Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla Jayāśraya Mangalarāja issued a similar charter in the Śaka year 653. ²⁸ Pulakeśi, who represents himself as the

²⁴ Ind Ant, Vol. VI, pp 86, 89, 92, Jour B B R A S, Vol III, p 203, and Ind Ant, Vol IX, pp 127, 130-131

²⁵ Jour B B R A S, Vol XVI, p 2

²⁶ Ibid pp 2 & 3

²⁷ Transactions VII Or Congr, p 226

²⁸ Jour B B R A S, p 5

younger brother of Jayâsraya Mangalarasarâja and as meditating on his feet, granted a village in the year 490²⁹ Both are styled kings From all this it appears that Javâsimhavarman though made sovereign of southern Gujarât did not rule over the province himself but made his son Śrîâsraya his regent He held that position for more than twenty-two years, and does not appear to have become king in his own right, as he is not mentioned in Pulakesi's grant Pulakesi, however, seems from his date to be his younger brother Śrîâsraya died before his father, Jayâsraya succeeded the latter as king and he was succeeded by Pulakesi The dates 421, 443, and 490, the era of which is not given, would if referred to the Gupta era be equivalent to 739, 761, and 808 of the Christian era respectively, while Jayâsraya's 653 Śaka is 731 A D But Vinayâditya the sovereign of the main branch who is mentioned in the grant of 443 died about 697 A D,³⁰ and Jayasimha whose Yuvarâja was Śrîâsraya will have to be supposed to have lived to 761 A D i.e., 81 years after the death of his brother Vikramâditya, while the interval between Pulakesi and his immediate predecessor Jayâsraya will become 77 years, as Śaka 653 of the latter corresponds to 731 A D The Gupta era will, therefore, not do, and we must with the late Paṇḍit Bhagvânâlâl refer the dates to the Traikûtaka era of the use of which we have at least two instances Thus Śrîâsraya's dates will be 670 and 692 A D, of Jayâsraya 731 A D and of Pulakesi 739 A D, and there will be no incongruity But the original dates themselves 421 and 490 show the distance of time between Śrîâsraya and Pulakesi to be 69 years, and if we take the later

²⁹ Transactions VII Or Congr, p 230

³⁰ See below

Section X

date of the former it will be reduced to 47 years. Even this is too much and the only way to account for it is by supposing that the two youngest sons of Jayasimha Dharâstraya were born of a young wife married when he was advanced in years. In Pulakeśi's grant it is stated that he vanquished an army of Tâjikas which had destroyed the Saindhava,³¹ Kachchhella,³² Saurâshtra, Châvoṭaka,³³ Maurya,³⁴ Gurjara³⁵ and other kings, and on its way to Dakshinâpatha to conquer the southern kings had come to Navasâri to reduce that country first. Thereupon Valla [56] bhanarendra, who must have been Vijayâditya or Vikramâditya II the reigning sovereign of the main branch, conferred upon him the titles of "Pillar of Dakshinâpatha" (Dakshinâpathasâdhâra), "Ornament of the family of Chaluka" (Chalukakulâlamkâra), "Beloved of the earth" (Pṛthivivallabha), the "Repeller of the unrepellable" (Anivartakanivartayitṛi) and "Support of men in the world" (Avanījanâśraya). As "Tâjika" is a name applied to Arabs, from which the name "Tajika" of a branch of astrology borrowed in the first instance from the Arabs is derived, the allusion in this grant is to an Arab invasion. And we have a mention of such invasions between the years 711 A D and 750 A D by Mahammad Kasim and his successors³⁶. Navasâri was the capital of the Châlukyas of Lîṭa or southern Gujarât.

³¹ King of Sindh

³² Very likely King of Kachchha

³³ King of Anahilpattan of the Châpotkâṭa race

³⁴ King of the Maurya race, probably ruled over some part of the Konkan and the coast of southern Gujarât

³⁵ King of the Gurjara race, ruled over the Broach District

³⁶ Elphinstone's Hist of India

A copper-plate grant of the Gujarât Châlukyas found at Kherâ and translated by Prof Dowson contains the names of three princes, viz , Jayasimharâja, Buddhavarmanâja, and Vijayarâja³⁷ Scholars and antiquarians have understood the first of these to be the same as Jayasimha the founder of the Châlukya dynasty of the Dekkan But I think the prince meant is Jayasimhavarman, the brother of Vikramâditya I and founder of the Gujarât branch of the dynasty , for nothing has hitherto been discovered connecting the early Châlukya princes with Gujarât The grant, however, appears to me to be a forgery³⁸ The Buddhavarman mentioned in it, if he existed at all, must have been another son of Jayasimhavarman, besides the two spoken of above, and he and his son Vijayarâja must have ruled over another part of Gujarât If the grant is to be regarded as genuine, the date 394 will have to be referred to the Gupta era

Section X.

A spurious
Châlukya
grant

After Vikramâditya I, his son Vinayâditya came to the throne One of his grants is dated Śaka 611, which was the tenth year of his reign,³⁹ another in 613 Śaka and in the eleventh year, and a third in 616 Śaka and the fourteenth year⁴⁰ There is also an inscription of his on a stone tablet, the date occur-

³⁷ Jour R A S , Vol I , p 268

³⁸ My reasons are these - (1) Its style is unlike that of the Châlukya grants (2) It does not contain the usual invocation to the Boar incarnation (3) It simply gives the three regulation names, *i e* , so many as are prescribed, in the legal treatises (4) There is a uniform mode of naming the three princes, by adding the suffix *râja* , a mode not to be met with in the genuine Châlukya grants (5) None of the three princes has a title or *Biruda* as all Châlukya princes from Pulakeśi I downwards had

³⁹ Ind Ant , Vol VI , p 86

⁴⁰ *Ibid* , pp 89, 92

Section X ing in which is 608 Śaka and the seventh year of his reign ⁴¹ From these it appears that Vinayāditya came to the throne in 602 Śaka corresponding to A D 680, in which year his father Vikramāditya must have ceased to reign His latest is A D 694, but his reign terminated in A D 696 as is seen from his son's grants referred to below During his father's lifetime, Vinayāditya assisted him in his wars with the southern kings and won his love by destroying the forces of the Pallava king and of the other three, i e , Chola, Pāṇḍya, and Kerala, and tranquilizing the country Between the eleventh and fourteenth years of his reign (A D 692—A D 695) he succeeded in making the Pallavas, [57] Kaṣambhras, Keralas, Haihayas, Vilas, Mālavas, Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, and others as steadfast allies of the Chālukya crown as the Ganga family of Chera and the Alupas whose loyalty was for the first time secured by Pulakeśi II ⁴² The kings of Kāvera, or Kerala as it is read in some of the grants, of the Pārasīkas, who were probably the Syrians settled on the coast of Malabār, and of Simhala were made tributaries He also seems, like his grandfather, to have fought with and defeated some paramount sovereign of Northern India whose name is not given, and to have acquired all the insignia of paramountcy, such as a certain standard called *Pāḍhvaja*, the drum called *Ḍhakkā*, and others These events must have taken place after 616 Śaka, since they are not mentioned in his grant of that year, but in those of his successors ⁴³ A

⁴¹ Ind Ant, Vol VII, p 112

⁴² This fact is not mentioned in the grant of the eleventh year of his reign (Ind Ant, Vol VI, p 89), while it does occur in that of the fourteenth year (p 92) and in those of his successors

⁴³ Ind Ant, Vol IX, pp 127 and 131

Section X

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⁴³ Ind Ant, Vol IX, pp 127 and 131

chief of the name of Mahârâja Pogilli of the Sendraka family was a feudatory of his in the south about Maisur ⁴⁴ Section X.

Vinayâditva was succeeded by his son Vijay-âditva. He appears to have assisted his grandfather in his campaigns against the southern kings and his father in the expedition into the north. At one time he was captured by his enemies, though they had been defeated and were retreating. Notwithstanding he was in their custody he succeeded in averting anarchy and disturbance in his own country, and when he got off, established his power everywhere and bore all the insignia of supreme sovereignty. There is an inscription at Bâdâmi in which it is stated that during his reign, idols of Brahmâ, Vishnu, and Mahesvara were put up at Vâtâpîpura in Śaka 621 and the third year of his reign. One of his grants was issued in Śaka 622 on the full-moon day of Âshâḍha and in the fourth year of his reign, another in Śaka 627 and in the tenth year, and a third in Śaka 651 on the full-moon day of Phâlguna and in the thirty-fourth year of his reign ⁴⁵. On a comparison of all these dates it follows that his reign began in 618 Śaka after the full-moon day of Âshâḍha corresponding to A.D. 696. The first two of these grants, and another which bears no date, were found at Nerur in the Sâvantvâḍî state ⁴⁶. Vijayâditva had a long reign of thirty-six years.

After Vijayâditva, his son Vikramâditva II ascended the throne. A grant of his, engraved on a stone tablet, is dated in 656 Śaka and in the second Vikramâditva II

⁴⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 143

⁴⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 112

⁴⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 127 and 131, and Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III, p. 203, *et seq.*

Section X year of his reign,⁴⁷ wherefore he must have come to the throne in 655 Śaka or A D 733. Soon after his coronation he had to turn his arms against his hereditary enemy the Pallava king. The name of the prince who reigned at the Pallava capital at this time was Nandipotavarman. Vikramāditya marched against him in haste and encountered him in the Tūdāka country. Nandipotavarman was defeated and had to fly away from the battle-field [58]. The Chālukya king got a good deal of spoil in the shape of large quantities of rubies, elephants, and instruments of martial music. He then entered the city of Kāñchī, but did not destroy it. In that city he gave a good deal of money to Brāhmins and to the poor and helpless, and restored to the temples of Rājasimheśvara and other gods the gold which, it appears, had been taken away by some previous king. He then fought with the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Keralas, and the Kaṭabhras, and reduced them.⁴⁸ Vikramāditya married two sisters belonging to the family of the Haihayas. The elder of these was called Lokamahādevī and she built a temple of Śiva under the name of Lokeśvara, at Paṭṭaḍakal in the Kalādgi district. The younger's name was Trailokyamahādevī, and she built another in the vicinity dedicated to the same god under the name of Trailokyeśvara. The latter was the mother of Kīrtivarman the next king.⁴⁹ Vikramāditya reigned for fourteen years.

Kīrtivarman
II

His son Kīrtivarman II began to reign in 669 Śaka or A D 747, since a grant of his, made in the

⁴⁷ Ind Ant, Vol VII, p 107

⁴⁸ Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p 26

⁴⁹ Ind Ant, Vol X, p 165 Epigraphia Indica, Vol III, p 5

eleventh year of his reign, bears the date 679 Śaka ⁵⁰ He assisted his father in his wars with the Pallavas On one occasion he marched against the Pallava king with his father's permission The ruler of Kāñchī, too weak to face him in the battle-field, took refuge in a fortress His power was broken by the Chālukya king, who returned to his country with a large spoil During the reign of this prince the Chālukyas were deprived of their power in Mahārāshṭra, and the sovereignty of the country passed from their hands into those of the Rāshtrakūṭa princes The main branch of the dynasty became extinct, but it had several minor offshoots, and one of these in the person of Tailapa succeeded in the course of time in regaining supreme power From this time forward, therefore, we do not meet with any copper-plate grants issued by the Chālukyas, but Rāshtrakūṭa plates belonging to this intervening period are met with from Rādhanpur in Northern Gujarāt to Sāmangaḍ near Kolhāpur and Nāgpur in the Central Provinces The grant of Kīrtivarman II, from which the above account of that prince is taken, does not allude to the fact of his disgrace, but he must have lost possession of the greater portion of his kingdom before Śaka 679, the date of the grant The name of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch who first humbled the Chālukyas was Dantidurga, and the work begun by him was completed by his successor Kṛishṇa In a copper-plate grant of the former found at Sāmangaḍ he is spoken of as having become paramount sovereign after having vanquished Vallabha ⁵¹ The date occurring in the grant is 675 Śaka Before that time, therefore, the Chālukyas must have lost

Overthrow
of the
Chālukyas

⁵⁰ Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p 27

⁵¹ Jour B B R A S, Vol II, p 375

Section X — their hold over Mahārāshtra In the Yevur tablet and the Miraj plates the Chālukyas are spoken of as having lost sovereign power in the reign of Kīrti-varman II We will therefore here close our account of the early Chālukyas

Jainism
under the
Chālukyas

[59] During the period occupied by the reigns of these early Chālukya princes, the Jaina religion comes into prominence Ravikīrti, the Jaina who composed the Aihole inscription and represents himself as a poet, was patronized by Pulakeśi II Vijayāditya gave a village for the maintenance of a Jaina temple to Udayadevapaṇḍita or Niravadyapaṇḍita, the house pupil of Śrīpūjyapāda, who belonged to the Devagana sect of the Mūlasamgha, i.e. of the Dīgambara Jainas Niravadyapaṇḍita is spoken of as a spiritual adviser of Vijayāditya's⁵² father, i.e. Vinayāditya Vikramāditya II repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant in connection with it to a learned Jaina of the name of Vijayapaṇḍita, who is represented to have silenced his opponents in argument and is styled the only disputant⁵³ But Jainism in those days, as at present, probably flourished in the Southern Marāṭhā Country only If the Pūjyapāda who was the preceptor of Niravadyapaṇḍita was the famous grammarian of that name, he must have flourished some time before 618 Śaka, the date of Vinayāditya's death, i.e. about 600 Śaka or 678 A.D. All that is known about Pūjyapāda and his relations to other Dīgambara writers is not inconsistent with this date But another date two hundred years earlier has also been assigned to Pūjyapāda

Buddhism

No inscription has yet come to light showing any close relations between the Buddhists and the

⁵² Ind Ant, Vol VII, p 112

⁵³ Ind Ant, Vol VII, p 197

Châlukya princes But that the religion did prevail, and that there were many Buddhist temples and monasteries, is shown by the account given by Hwan Thsang Still there is little question that it was in a condition of decline With the decline of Buddhism came the revival of Brâhmanism and especially of the sacrificial religion The prevalence of the religion of Buddha had brought sacrifices into discredit, but we now see them rising into importance Pulakesi I is mentioned in all the inscriptions in which his name occurs as having performed a great many sacrifices and even the Asvamedha I have elsewhere⁵⁴ remarked that the names of most of the famous Brâhmanical writers on sacrificial rites have the title of *Svâmin* attached to them, and that it was in use at a certain period, and was given only to those conversant with the sacrificial lore The period of the early Châlukyas appears to be that period Amongst the Brâhman grantees of these princes we have Nandisvâmin, Lohasvâmin, and Bhallasvâmin,⁵⁵ Dâsasvâmin the son of Jannasvâmin and grandson of Revâsvâmi-Dikshita,⁵⁶ Devasvâmin, Karkasvâmin, Yajñasvâmin, Nâgammasvâmin, another Devasvâmin, Gargasvâmin, Rudrasvâmin,⁵⁷ Prabhâkarasvâmin, Kesavasvâmin,⁵⁸ &c There are others whose names have not this title attached to them Among these names there are three borne by the great commentators on sacrificial sūtras and rites, viz Karkasvâmin, Devasvâmin, and Kesavasvâmin [60] Though it would be hazardous to assume that these writers were

⁵⁴ Report on MSS for 1884, pp 31, 32

⁵⁵ Ind Ant, Vol VI, p 77

⁵⁶ Ind Ant, Vol IX, 128

⁵⁷ Ind Ant, Vol IX, p 131

⁵⁸ B B R A S, Vol XVI, pp 237, 239

Section A

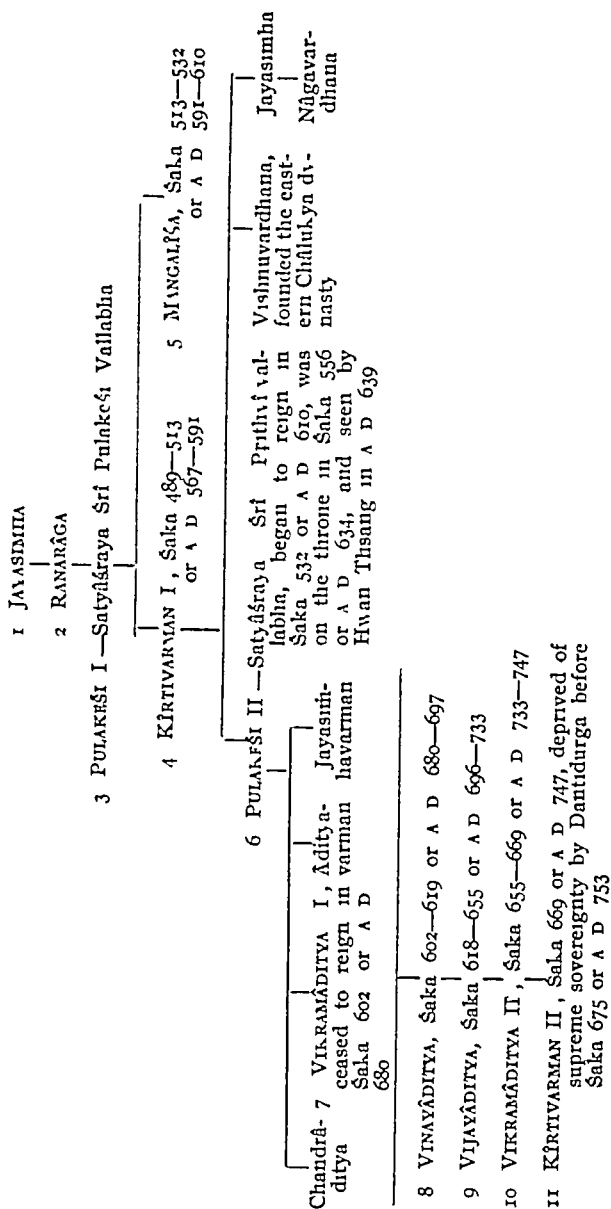
exactly the persons who are mentioned in the grants with those names, still it admits of no reasonable doubt that they are to be referred to the period when the Châlukyas reigned in Mahârâshtra, and probably flourished in the Dekkan or the Telugu and Kanarese countries. For the revival of Brahmanism was carried on vigorously in the Southern India. The ritual of the sacrifices must during the previous centuries have become confused, and it was the great object of these writers to settle it by the interpretation of the works of the old Rishis.

Purânic
gods

And the Purânic side of Brahmanism also received a great development during this period. Temples in honour of the Purânic triad, Brahmâ, Vishnu, and Maheśvara with a variety of names were constructed in many places. The worship of Śiva in his terrific form seems also to have prevailed, as the Nâsik grant of Nâgavardhana assigning a certain village to the worship of Kâpâlikesvara, or the god wearing a garland of skulls, would show.

Cave
architecture

Cave architecture came to be used for the purposes of the Purânic religion about the time of the early princes of the dynasty, as we see from the cave-temple at Bâdâmi dedicated to the worship of Vishnu by Mangalîsa. The Châlukyas, like their predecessors in previous times, were tolerant towards all religions.

[61] *Genealogy of the early Chālukyas*

[62] SECTION XI

THE RÂSHTRAKÛṬAS

Section XI

THE Râshtrakûṭas are represented to have belonged to the race of Yadû¹ According to the Wardhâ plates they were members of the Sâtyaki branch of the rate, and were the direct descendants of a prince of the name of Raṭṭa. He had a son of the name of Râshtrakûṭa after whom the family was so called. These are clearly imaginary persons, and as remarked before, the Râshtrakûṭa family was in all likelihood the main branch of the race of Kshatriyas named Raṭṭhas who gave their name to the country of Mahârâshṭra, and were found in it even in the times of Aśoka the Maurya. The Râshtrakûṭas were the real native rulers of the country and were sometimes eclipsed by enterprising princes of foreign origin, such as the Sâtavâhanas and the Châlukyas who established themselves in the Dekkan and exercised supreme sovereignty, but were never extirpated. The earliest prince of the dynasty mentioned in the grants hitherto discovered is Govinda I. But in an inscription in the rock-cut temple of the Daśavatâras at Elurâ the names of two earlier ones, Dantivarman and Indrarâja, occur.² The latter was Govinda's father and the former his grandfather. Govinda I was probably the prince of that name who in Ravikîrti's inscription at Aihole is spoken of as having attacked the Châlukya king Pulakesi II and to have afterwards become his ally.

Govinda I

¹ Khârepâṭan plate, Jour B B R A S, Vol I, p 217, Sângaḷ plates, B B R A, Vol IV, p 111, Navasârî plates and Wardhâ plates, Jour B B R A S, Vol XVIII p 239 et seq

² Arch Surv West Ind, No 10, pp 92-96

Govinda was succeeded by his son Karka, during Section XI
 whose reign the Brâhmans performed many sacrifices Karka I
 and who seems to have patronized the old Vedic Indra II
 religion. After him his son Indrarâja came to the
 throne. Indrarâja married a girl who belonged to
 the Châlukya family, though on her mother's side
 she was connected with the lunar race, probably that
 of the Râshtrakûṭas themselves. From this union
 sprang Dantidurga, who became king after his father. Dantidurga
 With a handful of soldiers Dantidurga defeated the
army of Karnâṭaka, which hitherto had achieved very
 great glory by vanquishing the forces of the kings
 of Kâñchî, the Keralas, Cholas, and Pândyas, and
 of Sriharsha, the lord paramount of Northern India,
 and Vijaya,³ and thus conquered Vallabha or the
 last Châlukya king Kirtivarman II. with ease. He
 thus acquired paramount sovereignty in the south.⁴
 He also subdued the kings of Kâñchî, Kalunga,
 Kosala, Sri-Saila,⁵ Mâlava, Lât, and [63] Tanka. At
 Ujjayini he gave large quantities of gold and jewels
 in charity.⁶ A grant of Dantidurga found at
Sâmagad in the Kolhâpur district bears the date
 675 of the Śaka era, corresponding to A D 753.⁷

Dantidurga died childless according to a grant Krishnarâja
found at Kardî,⁸ and his paternal uncle Krishnarâja Karnâṭaka
succeeded to the throne. Another grant found at

³ The army of Karnâṭaka was thus the army of the Châlukyas

⁴ Samangad grant, p 375, Jour B B R A S, Vol II

⁵ This must have been the country about Sri-Saila which contains the celebrated shrine of Mallikârjuna and which is situated on the lower Krishna in the Karnul district, Madras Presidency

⁶ Arch Surv West Ind, No 10 loc cit

⁷ Referred to above

⁸ Jour R A S, Vol III

Section XI Baroda⁹ omits the name of Dantidurga, since the object of the writer was simply to give the pedigree of the reigning monarch, with reference to whom Dantidurga was but a collateral, and not to give the names of all the previous kings. In that grant Krishnarâja is spoken of as having "rooted out" a prince belonging to the same family with himself who had taken to evil ways and to have himself assumed the task of governing for the "benefit of his race." The prince dethroned or destroyed by Krishnarâja could not have been Dantidurga, as has been supposed by some writers, since he was a powerful monarch who for the first time acquired supreme sovereignty for his family. In a grant found at Kâvi, and another found in the Navaśârî district, Krishna is represented to have succeeded to the throne after Dantidurga's death¹⁰. The prince whom he set aside, therefore, must either have been a son of Dantidurga or some other person with a better claim to the throne than himself. The statement of the Kardâ plate that Dantidurga died childless may be discredited as being made two hundred years after the occurrence.

Krishnarâja, otherwise called Śubhatunga and also Akâlavarsha, carried on the work of Dantidurga and reduced the Châlukyas to complete subjection. In two of the grants¹¹ he is spoken of "as having with the aid of gods in the form of his counsellors or followers churned the ocean of the Chalukya race which had been resorted to by mountains in the

⁹ Published in Jour. Benc. A. S., Vol. VIII, pp. 292—303.

¹⁰ See stanza 11 (p. 146, Ind. Ant., Vol. V,) of the first half of which only सप्तमि [गर्ग] remains, and lines 15 and 16, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII, p. 257, ll. 14, 15.

¹¹ Vanî Dindori, Jour. R. A. S., Vol. V, and Râdhampur, Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 65.

shape of kings afraid of their wings or power being destroyed¹²—an ocean that was inaccessible to others, —and drawn out from it the Lakshmi¹³ of paramount sovereignty. He is said to have defeated Râhappa who was proud of his own power and prowess, and afterwards assumed the ensigns of supreme sovereignty. Who¹⁴ this person was we have not the means of determining. In the Wardhâ plates he is represented to have constructed many temples of Śiva, [64] which resembled the Kailâsa mountain¹⁵. In the Baroda grant it is stated that Kṛṣṇarâja “caused to be constructed a temple of a wonderful form on the mountain at Elâpura. When the gods moving in their aerial cars saw it they were struck with wonder and constantly thought much over the matter saying to themselves, ‘This temple of Śiva is self-existent, for such beauty is not to be found in a work of art.’ Even the architect who constructed it was struck with wonder, saying when his heart misgave him as regards making another similar attempt, ‘Wonderful! I do not know how it was that I could construct it.’ King Kṛṣṇa with his own hands again decorated Śambhu (Śiva) placed in that temple, by means of gold, rubies,

Temple of
Śiva at
Elurâ
excavated at
the orders of
Kṛṣṇarâja

¹² The legend is that in early times mountains had wings, and as they did considerable mischief by their use, Indra set about cutting them. The mountains thereupon took refuge in the sea. The story originated from the double sense which the word *parvata* bears in the Vedas. It denotes “a mountain” and “a cloud” also. Indra was the god who prevented the clouds from flying from place to place, and compelled them to discharge their freight on the earth for the benefit of his human worshippers.

¹³ Vishnu churned the ocean with the aid of the gods and drew out Lakshmi from it, whom he married.

¹⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 182, l. 13.

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.*

Section XI and other precious jewels, though he had already been decorated by the wonderful artificial ornaments of the stream of the Gangâ, the moon, and the deadly poison " The ending *pura* in the names of towns, when it undergoes a change at all, is invariably changed to *ur*, as in Sihur for Simhapura, Indur for Indrapura, Śirur for Śripura, &c The Elâpura of the inscription, therefore, is Elur, and the temple described in the grant in such terms must be one of those excavated on the hills at the place, perhaps the temple of Kailâsa itself¹⁶ Thus it appears that it was Kṛishnarâja that caused the Kailâsa to be constructed, and the date assigned to

¹⁶ Dr Böhler in his paper in Vol VI, Ind Ant, simply states that the "grant (Baroda) connects him (Kṛishnarâja) with the hill at Elâpur, where he seems to have built a fort and a splendid temple of Śiva" He has not identified Elâpura and did not perceive the important significance of this and the next two stanzas He, however, suspected that one of the verses was badly deciphered That this and the following verses are somewhat badly deciphered there is no doubt, but the translation in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal is far worse and Dr Böhler was misled by it Dr Fleet has published a revised translation (Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 162), but as regards this passage it certainly is no improvement on the first He also once spoke of "a hill fort" (Ind Ant, Vol XI, p 121), and now thinks Elapura is in the passage meant to be represented as Kṛishnarâja's "encampments" He identifies Elapura with Yellapur in the North Kânara districts But the manner in which the temple is described according to my translation and also the obvious derivation of Elur from Elapura, and Elurî from Elapurâ, leave little doubt that a rock-cut temple at Elurî is meant to be spoken of and actually the existence of a Rashṭralîṭa inscription in one of the temples confirms my conclusion That my translation is correct and appropriate, I have shown in an article published in the Indian Antiquary, Vol XII, p 22^o, where the reader will find the point fully discussed

appear to have reigned long, as his brother was on the throne in Śaka 705 and his son in Śaka 716, the year in which the Paṭhan charter was issued Section XI

Dhruva Nirupama was succeeded by his son Govinda III or Jagat-tunga I
Govinda III The Radhanpur and Vanu-Dindori grants were issued by him in the Śaka year 730 corresponding to A D 808²² while he was at [66] Mayūrakhaṇḍi This place has been identified with a hill-fort in the Nāsik territory of the name of Morkhaṇḍ Whether Mayurākhaṇḍi was the capital of the dynasty in the time of this king cannot be satisfactorily determined Govinda III was certainly one of the greatest of the Rāshtrakūṭa princes, and the statement in his grant that during his time the Rāshtrakūṭas became invincible, as the Yādavas of Purāṇic history did when under the guidance of Kṛishna, appears credible Seeing he had grown up to be a brave prince his father proposed to abdicate the throne in his favour, but he declined, expressing himself perfectly satisfied with his position as Yuvarāja or prince-regent²³ When after his father's death he ascended the throne, twelve kings united their forces and rose against him,

²² The Samvatsara or cyclic year given in the first is *Sarajit* the current Śaka year corresponding to which was 730 while in the second it is *Ijaya* corresponding to 729 current As regards the exact signification to be attached to these dates, see Appendix B

²³ The Kāvi grant, however, states that the father did raise him to the supreme sovereignty which his enemies were endeavouring to deprive his family of, *i.e.*, when he found the enemies of his family too powerful for him, he raised his son to the throne and assigned to him the task of suppressing them Ind Ant, Vol V, p 147, v 27 The reading, however, is somewhat corrupt The enemies spoken of here must be those twelve whom he is represented to have vanquished in the other grants

Section XI desirous of striking an effectual blow at the power of the Râshtrakûṭas But alone and unassisted, he by his personal valour suddenly inflicted a crushing defeat on them and broke the confederacy He released the Ganga prince of Chera, who had been kept in custody by his father, but no sooner did he go back to his native country than he put himself into an attitude of hostility But Govinda III immediately vanquished him, and threw him into captivity again Subsequently he marched against the Gûrjara king, who fled away at his approach Thence he proceeded to Mâlvâ, the king of which country knowing himself to be unable to resist his power surrendered to him After receiving his obeisance he directed his march to the Vindhya When Mârâsarva, the ruler of the adjoining country, who had been watching his movements, heard from his spies that Govinda's army had encamped on the slopes of that mountain, he went up to him, and throwing himself at his feet presented to him his most highly valued heirlooms which no other prince had ever got before On this occasion Govinda spent the rainy season at a place called Śrîbhavana, which has not been identified When the rains were over, he marched with his army to the Tungabhadra, where he stayed for a short time, and brought the Pallava king of Kâñchi under a more complete subjection than before Thence he sent a message to the king of Vengi, or the country between the lower Kṛishnâ and the Godâvarî, who probably belonged to the eastern Châlukya dynasty, and he came and attended on him as if he were his servant ²⁴ This grand victorious march to the north and the south must have taken place before Śaka 726 or A D

So4 For in a copper-plate grant bearing that date found in the Kânarese country, it is stated that when the king (Govinda III) "having conquered Dantiga who ruled over Kâûchî, had come to levy tribute, and when his encampments were on the banks of the Tungabhadrà," he allotted some lands to one Śivadhîrî at a holy place named Râmesvara²⁵ His expeditions against the neighbouring princes must have been undertaken after [67] Śaka 716 *past*, or 794 A D, since the Paṭhan charter which was issued in that year makes no mention of them

Govinda III thus acquired a large extent of territory and established his supremacy over a number of kings He appears to have become the paramount sovereign of the whole country from Mâlva in the north to Kâûchîpura in the south, and to have under his immediate sway the country between the Narmadâ and the Tungabhadrà The Vanî-Dinḍorî plates convey a village situated in the Nâsik district, while those found in the Kânarese country assign some land near the Tungabhadrà The province of Lâṭa, situated between the Mahî and the lower Tîpî, was assigned by him to his brother Indra,²⁶ who became the founder of another branch of the dynasty Govinda III, as stated in the Baroda grant, made and unmade kings His secondary names as found in his own grants were Prabhûtavarsha or "Raining profusely," Pṛithvî-vallabha or "the Lover of the Earth," and Śrî-Vallabha Others will be noticed below The Baroda grant was issued by Karṇa, the son of

²⁵ Ind Ant, Vol XI, pp 126-7

²⁶ Kâvî plate, Ind Ant, Vol V, p 147, v 29, Baroda grant, Jour Beng A S, Vol VIII, p 296, v 21, in which सदा ought to be सदैव as in the Kâvî

it was he who founded it and made it the capital of the dynasty cannot be clearly made out from that grant, as the reading given by Mr Wathen is corrupt. But the Wardhâ plates are clear on the point. In them the successor of Jagattunga is called Nṛpa-tunga, and he is represented to have founded the city of Mānyakhēṭa, which "put the [68] city of the gods" to shame. Mānyakhēṭa has been properly identified with Mālkhed in the Nizām's territory. In the Kānheri caves there are three inscriptions, in which the reigning paramount sovereign is represented to be Amoghavarsha. In one of them Pullasakti of the Śilāhāra family, and in the other two his son, Kapardin, are mentioned as his dependents ruling over Konkan, which province had been assigned to them by Amoghavarsha. The dates occurring in the last two are Śaka 775 and 799.²⁹ An inscription at Sirur in the Dhârvâḍ district published by Dr Fleet is dated Śaka 788, *vyaya*, which is represented as the fifty-second year of the reign of Amoghavarsha,³⁰ so that the year 799 Śaka of the Kānheri inscription must have been the sixty-third of his reign. The cyclic year *vyaya* corresponds to the Śaka year 788 *past* and 789 *current*. This prince appears thus to have begun to reign in Śaka 737 *past*. In a historical appendix at the end of a Jaina work entitled Uttarapurāṇa, or the latter

²⁹ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI, West's copies Nos. 15 and 42, Vol. XIII, p. 11, and Prof. Kielhorn's paper, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 133. The cyclic year given with 775 is *Prajāpati*, the current Śaka year corresponding to which, however, was 774. Prof. Kielhorn has recently calculated the true Śaka from the day of the week and fortnight and found it to be 773 *expired* 10, 774 *current*.

³⁰ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 216.

Section XI half of the Mahâpurâṇa, by Gunabhadra, Amoghavarsha, is represented to have been a devoted worshipper of a holy Jaina saint named Jinasena, who was the preceptor of Gunabhadra, and wrote the Âdipurâṇa or the first part of the same work ³¹ Jinasena himself at the end of his poem the Pârśvâbhyudaya gives expression to a wish that Amoghavarsha may reign for a long time. An important work on the philosophy of the Digambara Jainas entitled Jayadhavalâ is represented at the end to have been composed when 759 years of the Śaka king had elapsed, in the reign of Amoghavarsha. In the introductory portion of a Jaina mathematical work entitled Sârasamgraha by Virâchârya, Amoghavarsha is highly praised for his power and his virtues, and is spoken of as a follower of the Jaina doctrine (Syâdvâda) ³² He is mentioned there also by his other name Nṛpatuṅga. The authorship of a small tract consisting of questions and answers on moral subjects, entitled Praśnottara-ratnamâlikâ, which has

³¹ Several copies of this Purâṇa have been purchased by me for Government. The stanza in which Amoghavarsha is alluded to is this —

यस्य प्राग्मखाग्रजालविसरङ्गारान्तरादिभूष-
त्वादाभोजरज पिशङ्गमुकुटप्रत्ययरवगुति ।
संस्मर्त्ता समनीषवर्षनृपति पूतोद्गमद्योत्पलं
संश्रीमाञ्जिनसेनपूज्यभगवत्पादौ जगन्मङ्गलम् ॥

"The king Amoghavarsha remembered himself to have been purified that day when the lustre of the gems was heightened in consequence of his diadem becoming reddish by the dust pollen of [Jinasena's] foot-lotuses appearing in the stream [of waterlike lustre] flowing from the collection of the brilliant rays of his nails,—enough—that prosperous Jinasena with the worshipful and revered feet is the blessing of the world."

³² This and the two preceding references I owe to the kindness of Mr K. B. Pathak.

been claimed for Saṁkarâchârva and one Saṁkara-guru by the Brâhmanas, and for Vimala by the Śvetâmbaras, is attributed [69] to king Amoghavarsha by the Digambara Jainas. At the end of the Digambara copies occurs a stanza, in which it is stated that Amoghavarsha composed the Ratnamâlîkâ after he had abdicated the throne in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit³³ in him. There is another Amoghavarsha in the dynasty who is represented as being of a thoughtful and religious temper. But he reigned for a short time and does not appear to have had any connection with the Jainas. There is a translation of the work in the Thibetan language, and there, too, the tract is attributed to Amoghavarsha, who is represented as a great king. The Thibetan translation of the name has been retranslated, however, into Amoghodaya by Schiefner, but if he had known the Digambara tradition, he would have put it as Amoghavarsha³⁴. From all this it appears that of all the Râshtrakûṭa princes, Amoghavarsha was the greatest patron of the Digambara Jainas, and the statement that he adopted the Jaina faith seems to be true.

Amoghavarsha's son and successor was Akâla-varsha. He married the daughter of Kokkala, king of Chedi, who belonged to the Haihava race, and by her had a son named Jagattuṅga. Akâlavarsha's proper name was Kṛishṇa as is evident from the Navasârî grant and also from the Wardhâ and the Kardâ plates. He is the Kṛishṇarâja during whose

Kṛishṇa II
or Akâla-
varsha.

³³ See my Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS for 1883-84 Notes, &c., p. 11. The stanza is

दिवेकाय्यक्तराजान राज्ञेयं रत्नमालिका ।
रचितानोचवर्षेण सुविद्यां सदल्ललित ॥

³⁴ Weber's Indische Streifen, Vol. I p. 210

Section XI reign a tributary chief of the name of Prithvirâma made a grant of land to a Jaina temple which he had caused to be constructed in the Śaka year 797 at Saundatti³⁵ Another Jaina temple was built by a Vaisya or Bania named Chikârya during his reign in Śaka 824 at Muḷgunda in the Dhârvâḍ district, and in the inscription which records this fact he is styled Krishna Vallabha³⁶ Krishna or Akâlavarsha appears to have been a powerful prince He is represented as having frightened the Gûrjara, humbled the pride of the Lâta, taught humility to the Gaudas, deprived the people on the sea-coast of their repose, and exacted obedience from the Andhra, Kalînga, Gânga, and Magadha.³⁷

In the reign of this prince the Jaina Purâṇa noticed above was consecrated in Śaka 820, the cyclic year being Pingala,³⁸ by Lokasena [70] the

³⁵ Jour B B R A S, Vol X, p 200 The cyclic year mentioned is Manmatha, which corresponds to Śaka 797 past

³⁶ Ib, p 192 The cyclic year is Dandubhi, which fell in 825 current

³⁷ Wardhâ and Navasâri plates Jour B B R A S, Vol XVIII, pp 239-269

³⁸ अकालवर्षमूपानि पालयत्यखिलामिलाम् ।

तस्मिन्निष्वस्तानि शेषदिशि वप्रियशोभुषि ॥

सर्ग ७ ।

* * * *

अकल्पकालाभ्यन्तरविश्वविकाटशतमिताब्दान्ते ।

सकलमहार्थकारिणि पिङ्गलनामनि समस्तजनमुखदे

* * * *

मिष्टितं मय्यर्थे

प्राप्तेन्य' शास्त्रसार जगति विजयते पुण्यमेतत्पुराणम् ॥

"Victorious in the world is this holy Purâṇa, the essence of the Sâstras which was finished and worshipped by the best among respectable [men]* * * in the year Pingala that brings about great prosperity and confers happiness on

pupil of Gunabhadra, who was the author of the second part In the historical appendix, "the lofty elephants of Akâlavarsha" are represented "to have drunk the waters of the Ganges rendered fragrant by being mixed with the humour flowing from their temples, and, as if not having their thirst quenched, to have resorted to the Kaumâra forest (in the extreme south), which was full of sandal trees set in gentle motion by the breezes blowing over the sea waves, and into the shade of which the rays of the sun did not penetrate"³⁹ The date 833 Śaka has also been assigned to Akâlavarsha⁴⁰ It will have been seen that an inscription at Saundattî represents Kṛṣṇinarâja to have been the reigning prince in Śaka 797, while one in the Kânherî caves speaks of his father Amoghavarsha as being on the throne two years later, i.e., in 799 This discrepancy must be due to the fact mentioned in the Ratnamâlikâ that the latter had abdicated the throne in his old age The real reigning prince therefore in Śaka 797 and 799 must have been Akâlavarsha his son, but the writer of the Kânherî inscription must in the latter year have put in Amoghavarsha's name, as he was not dead, and his having abdicated had probably no significance in his eyes

Akâlavarsha's son was Jagattunga But he did Jagattunga

all mankind, at the end of the year measured by 820 of the era of the Śaka king * * *, while that king Akâlavarsha, all of whose enemies were destroyed and whose fame was pure (or who acquired religious merit and fame) was protecting the whole earth "

The cyclic year Pingala corresponded to 820 Śaka current

39 यस्योत्तुङ्गमतगजा मिजमदस्त्रीतस्त्रिनीसंगमा-
 द्वाङ्ग वारि कलदितं कटु मुहु पीत्वाप्यगच्छत् ।
 कौमार घनचन्दन वनमर्पापसुखागमिषै-
 मन्दान्दोलितमस्तमास्करकरच्छाय समाशिश्रियन् ॥

Section XI not ascend the throne as appears from the fact that his name is not mentioned in the list of kings given in the Khârepâtaṇ grant, after Akâlavarsha, but that of Indra, who is spoken of as Akâlavarsha's grandson, while Jagattunga is mentioned in another connection below. And in the Navasârî grant Indra is represented as "meditating on the feet" of Akâlavarsha, and not of Jagattunga though he was his father, which shows that he was the immediate successor of Akâlavarsha. But the Wardhâ grant is explicit. It tells us that Jagattunga had a beautiful person, and that he died without having [71] ascended the throne. Jagattunga married Lakshmî, the daughter of his maternal uncle, the son of Kokkala, who is called Raṇavîgraha in the Sâṅgalî and Navasârî grants, and Samkaragana in the Karḍâ plates. But it will be presently shown that the Karḍâ plates contain many mistakes and are the source of a good deal of confusion in the history of this dynasty.

Indra III

From this union sprang Indra, who succeeded his grandfather. His title was Nityavarsha according to the Navasârî grant, and his son Govinda IV is in the Sâṅgalî grant spoken of as "meditating on the feet" of Nityavarsha, which also shows that that was Indra's title. Nityavarsha is the donor in the Navasârî grant. He is represented as residing at his capital Mânyakheṭa, but to have on the occasion gone to Kurundaka, identified with the modern Kaḍoda on the banks of the Tâpî, for his Paṭṭabandhotsava. This must have been the festival in honour of his coronation. At Kurundaka he granted that and many other villages, and restored four hundred more which had once been given in charity but had been resumed by former kings. He also gave away twenty lacs of Drammas in charity.

after having weighed himself against gold The village conveyed by the Navasâri grant is Tenna situated in the Lâṭ country It has been identified with Tenâ in the Navasâri division of the Baroda State The grant was issued in Śaka 836, so that Indra appears to have come to the throne in that year Another set of copper-plates found in the Navasâri district records the grant of the village of Gumra identified with the modern Bagumra by the same prince The grant was issued at the same time as the other, and the contents *mutatis mutandis* are exactly the same ⁴¹ From these grants of villages in the Navasâri district which must have formed a part of the old country of Lâṭa, and from the statement in the Wardhâ plates that Kṛishna or Akâlavarsha humbled the pride of the Lâṭa prince, it appears that the main branch of the Râshtrakûṭas reigning at Mânyakhêṭa must have in Akâlavarsha's time supplanted or reduced to a humble position the dynasty of their kinsmen in Gujarât, which had been founded in the time of Jagattunga or Govinda III Indra was the reigning monarch in Śaka 838, the cyclic year being *Dhâtu*, as appears from an inscription published by Dr Fleet ⁴²

As regards the next king there is some confusion in the Karḍâ plates The Sângalî grant, however, is clear Indra married a lady from the Haihaya family of Chedi again Her name was Vijâmbâ, ⁴³ and she was the daughter of Anganadeva, the son of Arjuna, who was the eldest son of Kokkala, men-

⁴¹ Jour B B R A S, Vol XVIII, p 261 *et seq*

⁴² Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 224

⁴³ Dr Fleet in his revised transcript and translation of the Sângalî grant calls her Dvijâmbâ, but in the facsimile given by him the name is distinctly Vijâmbâ in both the places where it occurs The Sanskrit of Vijâmbâ is Vidyâmbâ Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 250

Section XI

Amoghavarsha
Var. III

tioned above. By her Indra had a son named Govinda, who is the last king noticed in the Singrah grant, since it was issued by him. But according to the Kharepatin grant, Govinda was the younger brother of a prince named [72] Amoghavarsha.⁴¹ The immediate successor of Indra, therefore, was Amoghavarsha, and after him his younger brother Govinda came to the throne. And this is confirmed by the Kardī plates also. Amoghavarsha and Govinda are there meant to be mentioned as the two sons of Amba, who is the same as the Vijambā of the Simeih plate. But in the text of the grant Govinda and Amba form one compound, so that the translators of the grant call the lady Govindamba, which certainly is an unique or an absurd name. Thus they drop the Govinda altogether.⁴² But the

⁴¹ Dr. Fleet in his genealogical table at p. 100, Vol. XI, Ind. Ant., speaks of Govinda's brother as unnamed. But he is named Amoghavarsha in the Kharepatin grant, and also in that of Kardī if properly understood.

⁴² The 15th stanza, the latter part of which I have continued as in the text, is

सिंहः शत्रुघ्नश्चक्रवर्तिनामः प्रसन्नमन्त्रमङ्गलम् ।

Wardhâ grant is explicit on the point From it we learn that Amoghavarsha was the elder brother of Govinda, but that he died immediately after his father, as if "out of love for him," and then Govinda came to the throne The Sângalî grant of Govinda IV, as he must be called, does not mention Amoghavarsha by name, but states that "though Govinda had the power, he did not act with any reprehensible cruelty towards his elder brother, and did not render himself infamous by incest, or assume the nature of a devil by casting aside considerations of purity and impurity, but became Sâhasânka by his matchless enterprise and liberality " What this

Section XI

Govinda IV

of his sons Amoghavarsha and Govinda IV, the latter of whom reigned, as we shall see for at least fifteen years. Such an omission is not likely. Then, again, the Sângalî grant makes no allusion whatever to Jagattunga's marriage with a lady of the name of Govindâmba. And the second line श्रीमानमोघवर्षो गोविन्दवामिषानायाम्। looks as if the intention of the writer of it was set forth the names of the two sons of Indra, Amoghavarsha and Govinda, and of their mother Ambâ or Vijambâ. And it seems to me that the following stanza, in which the liberality of a monarch has been praised refers to Govinda IV, who as noticed in the text below, was called Suvarnavarsha by people, because he "rained down gold." The name of that prince, therefore, must occur in the verse immediately previous. The first line must, it is clear to me, have crept in through mistake. If it were not read here, the second would be applicable to the king mentioned immediately before, *i.e.*, Indra, and the whole would be consistent with the information derived from the Sângalî grant. The emendation I make in the second line is to read नो for दा and then Ambâ would be released from her incongruous association with Govinda, and the whole would be consistent and intelligible. There must be other mistakes also in the Karḍa grant. Very probably a verse or two are omitted here as also after the next stanza, where Kṛishnaraja is abruptly introduced and spoken of parenthetically.

it must be understood that the year meant is 841 Section XI
 Śaka It will appear from this that Indra or Nitya-
 varsha, who succeeded his grandfather in Śaka 836,
 had a very short reign, and his eldest son, Amogha-
 varsha, could have been on the throne only for a
 few months Govinda IV like Amoghavarsha I
 was at war with the Châlukvas of Vengi ⁴⁸ Another
 inscription represents Govinda IV as the reigning
 monarch in Śaka 851 ⁴⁹

From the Khârepâtan plates it appears that Govinda IV was succeeded by his paternal uncle Baddiga, the second son of Jagattunga He is represented to have been a virtuous prince, serene like a sage He was succeeded by his son Kṛishnarâja, and after his death his younger brother Khoṭika became king The Karḍâ grant is somewhat confusing here, but when properly understood it is perfectly consistent with that of Khârepâtan It states "When the elder brother Kṛishnarâjadeva went to heaven, Khoṭigadeva, who was begotten by the king Amoghavarsha on Kandakadevî, the daughter of Yuvarâja, became king" ⁵⁰ Here the expression "elder brother" must be taken as related to Khoṭigadeva and not to the preceding king, ⁵¹ whoever he may have been Khoṭika therefore was, even [74] according to the Karḍâ grant, the younger brother

Baddiga or
Amogha-
varsha III

Kṛishna III
and Khotika

⁴⁸ Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 249, and my note on Professor Peterson's Report on MSS for 1883-84, p 48

⁴⁹ Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 249

⁵⁰ ऐन्द्रपदनिगौषयेव स्वर्गमधिरुढे च ज्येष्ठे आतत्रि श्रीमत्कणराजदेवे
 युवराजदेवदुहितरि कन्दकदेव्याममोचवर्षन्तपा-

॥ १६ ॥

⁵¹ For, the clause containing that expression is dependent on the principal sentence, which is in the next or 16th stanza and the subject of which is Khoṭigadeva See the message in the last note

Section XI of Kṛṣṇnarāja But he is represented to have been the son of Amoghavarsha, while Kṛṣṇnarāja is spoken of in the Khârepâṭan plates as the son of Baddiga. In an inscription at Saloṭṭi, Kṛṣṇnarāja, the son of Amoghavarsha, is represented to have been reigning at Mānyakheta in 867 Śaka,⁵² that is, twelve years after the Sāngali grant of Govinda IV was issued. He must have been the same prince as that mentioned in the grants we have been examining. For the Kṛṣṇna of these was the second king after Govinda IV. His father Baddiga, who was Govinda's uncle, must have been an old man when he succeeded, and consequently must have reigned for a very short time. Hence his son Kṛṣṇa came to be king within twelve years after Govinda's grant, and there is no other Kṛṣṇa mentioned in the grants who is likely to have been on the throne in 867 Śaka. If, then, the Kṛṣṇna of the grants is the same as the Kṛṣṇna of the Saloṭṭi inscription, here we have evidence that his father's name was Amoghavarsha, so that the Baddiga of the Khârepâṭan plates was the same as the Amoghavarsha of the Karḍā plates. Kṛṣṇnarāja and Khoṭika were thus brothers, and it would appear from the wording of the statement in the Karḍā plates that they were the sons of the same father but of different mothers.⁵³

⁵² Ind. Ant., Vol. I, p. 205, *et seq.* The cyclic year given is Plavanga, which followed next after Śaka 869 and the current year corresponding to which was 870. According to another system, which however was rarely used in Southern India, it was Plavanga in a part of the year 867 Śaka *expired*.

⁵³ Dr. Fleet, following Mr. Wathen's translation, makes Kṛṣṇna, whom he calls Krishna III, the elder brother of Amoghavarsha and thus a son of Jagattunga. But in the Khârepâṭan grant he is distinctly represented as the son of Baddiga who was the son of Jagattunga, and in the

Section XI was [75] "first among the wise" and the "best of serene sages", to assume the reins of power. He was assisted in the government by his son Kṛishna, who though but a crown-prince wielded very great power. The enemies who transgressed his commands were punished, he put to death Dantiga and Bappuka who had grown insolent. He thoroughly subdued the Gāṅga prince, and planted what appears to be a colony of the Āryas in his dominions. Hearing of the ease with which he captured the strongholds in the south, the Gūrjara prince, who was preparing to take the fortresses of Kālanjara and Chitrakūṭa in the

on the throne from 867 to 878 Śaka, that is, before his elder brother Kṛishṇ, therefore, was the elder of the two as stated in the Khūrepāṭaṇ grant, and Khoṭika the younger. Dr Fleet, however, being under the belief that this last was the elder brother, gives the following explanation of the discrepancy in the dates — "Koṭṭiga or Khoṭṭiga left no issue, and this explains why the date of his inscription now published is considerably later than the dates obtained for Kṛishna IV, viz, there being no probability of Koṭṭiga leaving any issue, first his younger brother Kṛishṇa IV was joined with him in the government and then the latter's son Kalika III" — (Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 255). This supposition is not supported by any circumstance, on the contrary it is utterly discountenanced by the inscriptions of Kṛishna which represent him to be the "Supreme King of great Kings," (Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 258) and to have been reigning at the time at Mānya kheṭa and governing the Kingdom (Ind Ant, Vol I, p 210). Otherwise, they would have spoken of him as *Yuvarāja*. Thus there were not two Kṛishṇas but only one. He was the son of Baddiga or Amoghavarsha, not his brother. His earliest date is that of the Warḍhā grant, i.e., 862 Śaka and the latest 881 that of the Yaśastilaka. He was the same monarch as that spoken of in the Saloṭgi and other stone inscriptions bearing the dates 867, 873, and 878 Śaka. Khoṭiga was his younger brother, and Nirupama the youngest.

north, had to give up the enterprize. All feudatory chiefs between the eastern and the western oceans and between the Himâlava and Simhala (Ceylon) paid obeisance to him. After he had thus rendered the power of his family firm, his father died, and he ascended the throne. The Wardhâ plates announce the grant of a village to the north-west of Nâgpur near the modern Mohagaon made by Kṛishnarâja, who is also called Akâlavarsha, in the name of his brother Jagattunga to a Brâhman of the Kânva school of the White Yajurveda on the 5th of the dark half of Vaisâkha in Śaka 862, corresponding to 940 A.D., the cyclic year being Śârvarî. This prince is called Śrî-Vallabha also in the grant.

Kṛishnarâja was the reigning monarch in Śaka 873 and 878⁵⁴. At the end of a Jaina work called Yasastilaka by Somadeva it is stated that it was finished on the 13th of Chaitra when 881 years of the era of the Śaka king had elapsed, the cyclic year being Siddhârthin, during the reign of a feudatory of Kṛishnarâjadeva. Kṛishnarâjadeva is spoken of as reigning gloriously, having subdued the Pâṇḍyas, Simhala, the Cholas, the Cheras and others⁵⁵. Khoṭika, his brother, was on the throne in Śaka 893 *Prajâpati*⁵⁶.

Khoṭika was succeeded, according to the Khârepâtan grant, by Kakkala, the son of his brother. The name of this brother was Nirupama according to the Kardâ grant. Kakkala is said to have been a brave soldier, but he was conquered in battle by Tailapa, who belonged to the Châlukya race, and thus the sovereignty of the Dekkan passed

Kakkala or
Karka II

⁵⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 257, and Vol. XI, p. 109

⁵⁵ Prof. Peterson's Report, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 225

Section XI

Overthrow
of the
Râshṭra-
kûṭas

from the hands of the Râshṭrakûṭas once more [76] into those of the Châlukyas The Karḍâ grant, which was made in the reign of Kakkala, is dated Śaka 894 or A D 972 And another inscription represents him as being on the throne in 896 *current*,⁵⁷ the cyclic year being *Śrîmukha* But in this year or Śaka 895 *past* Tailapa attained sovereign powers⁵⁸ The Râshṭrakûṭas were thus supreme masters of this country from about A D 748 to A D 973, that is, for nearly two hundred and twenty-five years

Religion
under the
Râshṭra-
kûṭas

That the princes of this race were very powerful there can be little doubt The rock-cut temples at Elurâ still attest their power and magnificence Under them the worship of the Purâṇic gods rose into much greater importance than before The days when kings and princes got temples and monasteries cut out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of Gotama Buddha had gone by, never to return Instead of them we have during this period temples excavated or constructed on a more magnificent scale and dedicated to the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu Several of the grants of these Râshṭrakûṭa princes praise their bounty and mention their having constructed temples Still, as the Kânheri inscriptions of the reign of Amoghavarsha I show, Buddhism had its votaries and benefactors, though the religion had evidently sunk into unimportance Jainism, on the other hand, retained the prominence it had acquired during the Châlukya period, or even made greater progress Amoghavarsha was, as we have seen, a great patron of it, and was perhaps a convert to it, and some of the minor chiefs and the lower castes,

⁵⁷ Ind Ant, Vol XII, p 270

⁵⁸ The cyclic year mentioned along with the first of these two dates in Angiras the current Śaka year corresponding to which was 895

especially the traders, were its devoted adherents. The form of Jainism that prevailed in the country was mostly that professed by the Digambara sect. A good many of the extant Digambara works were, as we have seen, composed during this period.

It is remarkable that, unlike the grants of the early Châlukya princes, those of the Râshtrakûṭas contain accounts in verse of the ancestors of the grantor, and most of the verses are of the nature of those we find in the ordinary artificial poems in Sanskrit literature, possessing the same merits and faults. The Râshtrakûṭas, therefore, must have been patrons of learning, and probably had poets in their service. One of the three Kṛṣṇas belonging to the dynasty is the hero of an artificial poem by Halâyudha entitled the *Kavirahasya*, the purpose of which is to explain the distinction as regards sense and conjugational peculiarities between roots having the same external form. He is spoken of as the paramount sovereign of Dakṣinâpatha⁵⁹. Prof Westergaard, however, thought [77] him to be the Kṛṣṇarâva of the Vijayanagar dynasty who reigned in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. But in the *Kavirahasya* he is spoken of in one place as "having sprung from the Râshtrakûṭa race,"⁶⁰ and is in another called "the ornament of the lunar

Kṛṣṇa
of the
Râshtra-
kûṭa race,
the hero of
the *Kavi-
rahasya*

⁵⁹ अम्यगम्यमुनिज्योत्स्नापवित्रे दक्षिणपथे ।

रूपराज इति ख्यातो राजा साम्राज्यदोक्षित ॥

"In Dakṣinâpatha, which is rendered holy by the light of the sage Agastya, there was a king of the name of Kṛṣṇarâja who was crowned as a paramount sovereign."

⁶⁰ तोलयत्यतुलं शक्या यो भारं भुवनेश्वर ।

कसं तुल्यति स्यात्मा राष्ट्रकूटकुलोद्भवम् ॥

"Who will equal in strength that lord of the world sprung from the Râshtrakûṭa race, who by his power bears an incomparable burden."

Section XI

race,"⁶¹ which description is of course not applicable to the Vijayanagar prince

Balharâs
identified
with the
Râshṭra-
kūṭas

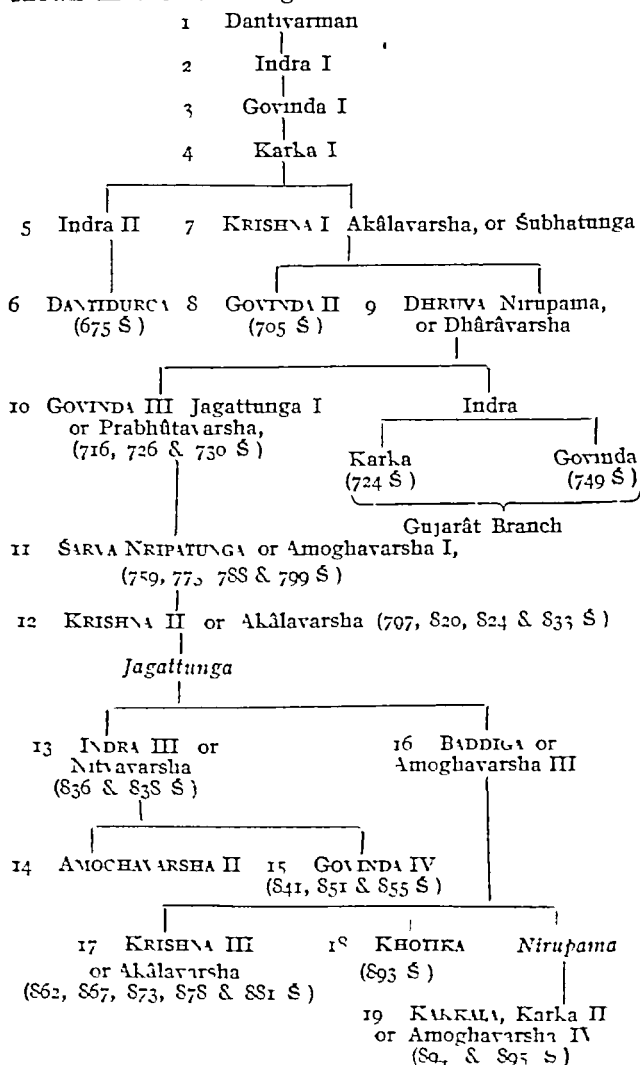
Arabic travellers of the tenth century mention a powerful dynasty of the name of Balharâs who ruled at a place called Mânkîr. The name of the city would show that the Râshṭrakūṭas, whose capital was Mânyakhēṭa or Mânkhed, were meant. But Balharâ, the name of the dynasty, has not been identified with any that might be considered to be applicable to the Râshṭrakūṭas. But to me the identification does not appear difficult. The Râshṭrakūṭas appear clearly to have assumed the title of *Vallabha* which was used by their predecessors the Châlûkyas. We have seen that Govinda II is called *Vallabha* in two grants, Amoghavarsha I in a third, and Krishna III in a fourth. In an inscription on a stone tablet at Lakshmesvar, Govinda III is called *Śrī-Vallabha*,⁶² while in the Râdhampur plates he is spoken of as *Vallabha-narendra*. In the Sâṅgalī and Karḍā grants also the reigning king is styled *Vallabha-narendra*, while in other inscriptions we find the title *Prithivīvallabha* alone used. Now *Vallabha-narendra* means "the king *Vallabha*," and is the same as *Vallabharāja*, the words *rāja* (*n*) and *narendra* both denoting "a king." *Vallabha-rāja* should by the rules of Prākṛit or vernacular pronunciation, become *Vallaha-rāy*, *Ballaha-rāy*, or *Balharāj*. This last is the same as the Balharâ of the Arabs.

61 सोम सुनीति गन्धेषु सोमवशविभक्षण

"That ornament of the lunar race extracts the juice of Soma in sacrifices."

62 Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 156

[78] The genealogy of the Râshtrakûṭas is Section XI shown in the following table —



(a) The names of those who were supreme sovereign in the Dekkan are printed in capital letters.

(b) The names of those who were kings before the attainment of supreme power are printed in small letters.

(c) The order of succession is represented by the numbers.

(d) The names of those who did not ascend the throne at all have been printed in italics.

places six princes only between Kirtivarman II and Trailoka. There is little question that there was no continuity of tradition. The titles Jagadekamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, &c, which the later Châlukyas assumed mark them off distinctively from princes of the earlier dynasty, who had none like them. In a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 735 found in Maisur a Châlukya prince of the name of Vimalâditya, the son of Yasovarman and grandson of Balavarman, is mentioned. To ward off the evil influence of Saturn from Vimalâditya, a village was granted to a Jaina sage on behalf of a Jaina temple by Govinda III, the Rîshtrakûṭa king, at the request of Châkuvâja of the Gangâ family, the maternal uncle of Vimalâditya². These three Châlukya names do not occur in the usual genealogy of the family. This therefore appears to have been an independent branch. Another independent offshoot ruled over a province called Jola, a portion of which at least is included in the modern district of Dhârwad. In the Kânarese Bhârata [80] written in 863 Śaka by a Jaina poet of the name of Pampa, Arikesarin belonging to this branch, is mentioned by the poet as his patron. The genealogy there given is as follows —

```

Yuddhamalla
|
Arikesarin
|
Narasimha
|
Dugdhamalla
|
Baddiga
|
Yuddhamalla
|
Narasimha
|
Arikesarin

```

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 11

Section XII

Châlukya
prince
mentioned
in a
Vedântic
work.

At the end of a work entitled Samkshepasârîraka, the author Sarvajñâtman, the pupil of Sureśvara, who himself was a pupil of the great Śamkarâchârya, states that he composed it while "the prosperous king of the Kshatriya race, the Âditya (sun) of the race of Manu whose orders were never disobeyed, was ruling over the earth"³ This description would apply with propriety to such a king as Âdityavarman, Vikramâditya I, Vinayâditya, Vijayâditya, or Vikramâditya II of the early Châlukya dynasty, since they were very powerful princes and were "Âdityas of the race of Manu" For the Mânavya race to which they belonged may be understood as "the race of Manu" But Śamkarâchârya is said to have lived between Śaka 710 and 742, wherefore his grand-pupil must have flourished about the year 800 of that era, while Vikramâditya II, the latest of the four, ceased to reign in 669 Śaka Supposing then that the date assigned to Śamkarâchârya is correct, the king meant by Sarvajñâtman must be one of those placed by the Miraj grant between Kîrtivarman II and Tailapa He may be Vikramâditya, the third prince after Kîrtivarman II,⁴ but if the description is considered hardly applicable to a minor chief, Śamkarâchârya's date must be pushed backwards so as to place the pupil of his pupil in the reign of one of the five princes of the early Châlukya dynasty mentioned above

3 श्रीदेवेश्वरपादपङ्कजरत्न संपर्कपूताश्रय
सर्वज्ञात्मगिरादितो मुनिवर मत्पेशारौकम् ।
चक्रे सच्चमधुद्विवर्धनमिदं राजन्यवश्ये वृषे
श्रीमत्यक्षतशासने मनुकुलादित्ये मुष शसति ॥

The Devaśara spoken of in the first line is Sureśvara, the pupil of Śamkarâchârya

⁴ See the genealogy at the end of this Section

Tailapa seems to have carried his arms into the country of the Cholas⁵ and humbled the king of Chedi⁶ He despatched an expedition into Gujarât, under a general of the name of Bârapa, against Mâlârâja, the founder of the Châlukya dynasty of Anahlapattana, [81] who for some time was hard pressed, but according to the Gujarât chroniclers the general was eventually defeated with slaughter⁷ Somesvara, the author of the Kîrtikaumudî, speaks of Bârapa as the general of the lord of Lâṭa, from which it would appear that Tailapa was in possession of that country⁸ Tailapa invaded Mâlâ also, which at this time was governed by Muñja the uncle of the celebrated Bhoja Muñja, instead of strictly confining himself to the defensive, took the offensive, and, against the counsels of his aged minister Rudrâditya, crossed the Godâvarî with a large army He was encountered by Tailapa, who inflicted a crushing defeat on him and took him prisoner At first Muñja was treated with consideration by his captor, but an attempt to effect his escape having been detected, he was subjected to indignities, made to beg from door to door, and finally beheaded⁹ This event is alluded to in one of Tailapa's inscriptions¹⁰ Tailapa reigned for twenty-four years¹¹ One of his feudatory chiefs granted a piece of land to a Jama temple that he had constructed at

Section XII

Ta lapa s
expeditions

⁵ Ind Ant, Vol V, p 17

⁶ Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p 15

⁷ Râsa Mâlâ, Chap IV, p 38, new Ed

⁸ Kîrtikaumudî II 3

⁹ Merutunga's Bhojaprabandha and Bhojacharitra by Râjavallabha

¹⁰ Jour R A S, Vol IX, p 12, and Ind Ant, Vol XXI, p 168

¹¹ Jour R S Vol IV, p 4

Section XII — Saundatti¹² in the Belgaum district, in the year 902 Śaka or A D 980

Satvāśraya Tailapa married Jākabbā, the daughter of the last Rāshtrakūṭa king, and had by her two sons, whose names were Satyāśraya and Daśavarman¹³ The former succeeded him in 919 Śaka or A D 997 Nothing particular is mentioned of him in any of the inscriptions The Khārepāṭaṇ grant, which we have so often referred to, was issued in his reign in Śaka 930 by a dependent chief of the Śilāhāra family which ruled over southern Konkan¹⁴

Vikramāditya I Satyāśraya died without issue and was succeeded by Vikramāditya I¹⁵ the son of his younger brother Dasavarman by his wife Bhagavatī The earliest of his inscriptions is dated Śaka 930, which is also the latest date of his predecessor He therefore succeeded to the throne in that year, *i e*, in 1008 A D, and appears to have reigned for only a short time¹⁶ He

Jayasimha was succeeded by his brother Jayasimha or Jagadekamalla, who in an inscription dated 941 Śaka, *i e*, 1019 A D, is represented to have put to flight or broken the confederacy of Mālava and is styled "the moon of the lotus which was King Bhoja," that is, one who humbled him¹⁷ He is also spoken of as having beaten the Cholas and the Cheras The Miraj grant was executed by him five years later, *i e*, in Śaka 946, when "after having subdued the

¹² Jour B B R A S, Vol X, p 210

¹³ Miraj plates, Jour R A S, Vol III, p 262, st 30-35, Ind Ant, Vol VIII, pp 15-17

¹⁴ Jour B B R A S, Vol I, p 209

¹⁵ I call him Vikramāditya I and not Vikramāditya V, as others do, because I would keep the two dynasties distinct for the reasons given in the text above I shall call Vikramāditya Tribhuvanmalla, Vikramāditya II, and so on

¹⁶ Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 4

¹⁷ Ind Ant, Vol V, p 17

powerful Chola, the lord of the Drāmila country, and taken away everything belonging to the ruler of the seven Konkans, he had encamped with his victorious army at [82] Kolhîpur in the course of a march to the northern countries to vanquish them ”¹⁸ The latest date of this prince is Śaka 962 ¹⁹

Jayasimha ceased to reign in 962 Śaka, or 1040 A D, and was succeeded by his son Somesvara I, who assumed the titles of Âhavamalla and Trailokyamallā. As usual with the Châlukya princes the first enemy he had to turn his arms against was the king of the Cholas ²⁰. He is then represented by Bilhana to have marched against Dhârî, the capital of Bhoja, and captured it. Bhoja was compelled to abandon the city. These hostilities with the king of Mâlâ seem to have been inherited by this king and his predecessor from Tailapa, who had caused Muñja to be put to death. Bhoja was but a boy when this event took place. It is narrated in the Bhojacharitra that after he had come of age and begun to administer the affairs of his kingdom, on one occasion a dramatic play representing the fate of Muñja was acted before him, and thereupon he resolved to avenge his uncle's death. He invaded the Dekkan with a large army, captured Tailapa, subjected him to the same indignities to which Muñja had been subjected by

¹⁸ *Loc cit* Drāmila is another form of Draviḍa. There is some mistake here in the original. The letters are चद्रमिलाधिपति. Dr Fleet takes च as one word and चद्रमिलाधिपति as another, but च cannot be construed and Chandramila is unknown. The first word must be रुच, a mistake for some such word as रुच “down” “below,” and the second *Dramilādhipatim*.

¹⁹ *Ind Ant*, Vol XIX, p 164

²⁰ Bilhana's *Vikramânka Charitra*, I, 90, Jour R A S Vol IV, p 13

Section XII

him, and finally executed him ²¹ Bhoja, who ruled over Mālvā for about fifty-three years, was but a minor when Muñja died. Muñja was on the throne in 994 A D, ²² while Tailapa died or ceased to reign in 997 A D. He must therefore have been slain by the latter between 994 and 997 A D, and Tailapa did not survive Muñja for a sufficiently long time to allow of Bhoja's attaining majority and fighting with him. Hence Bhoja could not have wreaked vengeance on Tailapa. But the wars of Jayasimha and Someśvara I with him show that the tradition recorded in the Bhojacharitra must have been correct to this extent, that to avenge his uncle's death the king of Mālvā formed a confederacy with some neighbouring princes and attacked the dominions of the Chālukyas. Perhaps he captured Vikramāditya I, of whom we know so little, and put him to death. It was probably on that account that Jayasimha took arms against him and broke the confederacy, as represented in the inscription dated 941 Śaka.

Attack
against
Dāhala
and the
southern
countries

After some time Someśvara attacked Chedi or Dāhala, the capital of which was Tevur or Tripura, and deposed or slew Karṇa ²³. King Bhoja must have died before this event, for, just about the time of his death, Karṇa had formed a confederacy with Bhīmadeva I of Gujarāt with a view to attack Mālvā from two sides, and sacked Dhârâ after his death ²⁴. Bilhana next represents the Chālukya prince to have marched against the countries on the sea-coast, [83] probably the western. These he conquered, and

²¹ Bhojācharitra, I, 50-56

²² Mr. Report on the search for MSS during 1882-83,

p 45

²³ Bilhana's Vikr, I, 102-103

²⁴ Merutunga's Bhojaprabandha, Râsa Mālâ, VI, p 69,

having erected a triumphal column there, proceeded Section XII
by the sea-shore to the extremity of the peninsula

In his progress through that part of the country the king of the Dravids or Cholas attacked him, but was defeated. Somesvara thereupon proceeded to his capital Kīnchi, which he captured, and the Chola king had to flee away to save his life.²⁵ Āhavamalla's operations against Bhoja and the Cholas are alluded to in an inscription, and he is also represented to have fought with the king of Kānyakulja or Kanoy and compelled him to betake himself to the caverns of mountains for safety.²⁶

Āhavamalla or Somesvara founded the city of Kalīṇa and made it his capital. Billhana mentions the fact,²⁷ and the name of the city does not occur in any inscription of a date earlier than 975 Śaka, when Somesvara was reigning.²⁸ In the course of time three sons were born to Āhavamalla, the eldest Sons of
Āhavamalla
of whom was named Somesvara, the second Vikramāditya, and the third Jayasinha.²⁹ The ablest of these was Vikramāditya, and Āhavamalla intended to raise him to the dignity of Yuvarāja or prince-regent in supersession of his elder brother, but

²⁵ Vikr Ch, I, 107 116

²⁶ Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p 19

²⁷ Billhana's Vikr Ch, II, I. The natural construction appears to be to take कर्त्तुं "most excellent" as an *attributive* adjective, not *predicative*, and take चकार as the predicate. The sense then will be "He made (founded) the most excellent city named Kalīṇa."

²⁸ See Dr Hect's remarks on the point, Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p 105. The word *kalīṇa* occurring in the Salotgi inscription (Ind Ant, Vol I, p 210), is also, like that in Kirtivarman's grant, to be taken in the sense of "good," "benefit," "beneficial," and not as the name of a town as Mr Pāndit and Dr Bühler have done.

²⁹ Billhana's Vikr Ch, II, 57 58 and 85, III, 1, 25

Section XII

Vikramāditya's
military
operations

Bilhana tells us he declined the honour ³⁰ Somesvara therefore was installed as prince-regent, but the real work was done by Vikramāditya, who was invariably employed by his father to fight his battles. The first thing he did was to march as usual against the Cholas, whose king was defeated and deprived of his kingdom. The king of Mālvā, who had been driven from his country by somebody whose name is not given, sought Vikramāditya's assistance. That prince put down his enemies and placed him on the throne ³¹ Vikramāditya is said to have invaded the Gauḍa country or Bengal and Kāmarūpa or Assam ³² In the more detailed description of his career of conquest, Bilhana tells us, he first marched against the Keralas, whom he conquered ³³ The king of Śinhala submitted to him at his approach, ³⁴ then he took the city of Gangakunḍa and proceeded to the country of the Cholas, the prince of which fled and took refuge in the caverns of mountains. Vikramāditya then entered Kāñchi and plundered it, and thence directed his march to Vengi, and to Chakrakōṣa ³⁵

Āhava-
malla's
death

While Vikramāditya was so employed, Āhava-malla was seized with a strong fever. When he observed his end approaching, he caused himself to be taken to the banks of the Tungabhadra. He [84] bathed in the waters of the river and gave away a great deal of gold in charity. Then entering the river again, he proceeded until the water reached his neck, and, in the din caused by the waves and a number of musical instruments, drowned himself ³⁶

³⁰ *Ib.*, III, 26-32, 35-41, and 48-51

³¹ *Ib.*, III, 55-57

³³ *Ib.*, IV, 2, 18

³⁵ *Ib.*, IV, 21-30. For the situation of Vengi, see *supra*,

³² *Ib.* III, 7,

³⁴ *Ib.*, IV, 20

Section XII

Submission
of Jayakesi
of Goa to
Vikram-
aditya

kesi is represented to have submitted to Vikramāditya and "given him more wealth than he desired, and thus to have rendered lasting the smile on the face of the Konkan ladies"⁴² Jayakesi appears thus to have been king of the Konkan, and was the same as the first king of that name, who in the copper-plate grants of the Goa Kadambas, published by Dr Fleet, is spoken of as having entered into an alliance with the Châlukya and Chola kings and made Gopakapattana or Goa his capital Vikramāditya or Tribhuvanamalla in after-life gave his daughter Mallalamahâdevi in marriage to his grand son, who also was called Jayakesi, and this circumstance is mentioned in all the three grants, since the connection with the paramount sovereign of the Dekkan raised the dignity of the family⁴³ The king of the Alupas⁴⁴ also rendered his obeisance to the Châlukya prince, who showed him marks of favour He then subjugated the Keralas or people of Malabâr, and turned towards the country of the Dravîḍas or Cholas Being informed of this, the Chola prince sent a herald with proposals of peace, offering [85] his daughter in marriage to Vikramāditya These were accepted by the latter, and at the solicitations of the Chola he fell back on the Tungabhadra, where the prince arrived with his daughter and concluded an alliance⁴⁵

Alliance
with the
Chola
prince

Revolution
in the Chola
kingdom

Some time after, the king of the Cholas died and there was a revolution in the kingdom When the Châlukya prince heard of this he immediately proceeded to Kâñchi, and placing the son of his father-in-law on the throne, remained there for a month to

⁴² *Ib.*, V, 10, 18-25

⁴³ *Jour. I. P. R. A. S.*, Vol. I., pp. 22, 27, 27

⁴⁴ See *supra* p. 83, note 13

⁴⁵ Billana's *Vikr. Ch.*, V. 26-27, 28, 56, 60, 72, 75

suppress his enemies and render his position secure Section XII
 A short time after his return to the Tungabhadra, however, Rājiga, the king of Vengi, observing that the nobility of the Chola prince were disaffected, seized the opportunity, and, having deposed him, usurped the sovereignty of the country. To embarrass Vikramāditya and prevent his descent on Kāñchī, Rājiga incited his brother Somesvara II to attack him from behind. Vikramāditya, however, marched on, and, by the time he came in sight of the Dravida forces, Somesvara overtook him in his rear. He had a very large army, which was well equipped.⁴⁶ Bilhana, who is, of course, anxious to show his patron to be guiltless in this fratricidal war, represents him to be deeply afflicted when he saw that his brother had made common cause with his enemy, and to have endeavoured to dissuade him from the course on which he had embarked. Somesvara made a show of yielding to his brother's expostulations, seeking however in the meanwhile for a favourable opportunity to strike a decisive blow.⁴⁷ But Vikramāditya finally resolved to give a fight to the armies of both. Then a bloody battle ensued, Vikramāditya proved victorious, the new king of the Dravidas fled, and Somesvara was taken prisoner. The Chālukya prince then returned to the Tungabhadra, and after some hesitation dethroned Somesvara and had himself crowned king. To his younger brother Jayasīma he assigned the province of Banavāsī.⁴⁸ These events took place in the cyclic year *Nala*, Śaka 998, or A D 1076.⁴⁹

Alliance between Rājiga and Somesvara II against Vikramāditya

Battle of Vikramāditya with his brother and Rājiga Coronation of Vikramāditya

⁴⁶ Ib VI, 7-54

⁴⁷ Ib VI, 56-61

⁴⁸ Ib, VI, 90-93, 98-99

⁴⁹ Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 4, Ind Ant, Vol VIII, p 189 The current Śaka year was 999 Dr Fleet thinks

Section XII

Reign of
Vikramâ-
ditya II

Vikramâditya II then entered Kalvâra and had a long and upon the whole a peaceful reign of fifty years ⁵⁰ He assumed the title of Tribhuvanamalla, and is known by the names of Kalavikrama and Parmâditya also He abolished the Śaka era and established his own, but it fell into disuse not long after his death Some time after his accession, he went to Karahâṭaka or Karhâḍ and married the daughter of the Śilâhâra king who reigned at the place Her [86] name was Chandralakhâ and she was a woman of rare beauty Bilhana represents her to have held a *sayamara* where a great many kings assembled, out of whom she chose the Châlukya prince and placed the nuptial wreath round his neck Whether the *sayamara* was real, or imagined by the poet to give himself an opportunity for the display of his poetic and descriptive powers, it is not possible to decide Chandralakhâ is spoken of in the inscriptions as Chandraladevi, and many other wives of Tribhuvanamalla are mentioned besides her The revenues of certain villages were assigned to them for their private expenses ⁵¹

Section XII ditya, who, however, is represented to have pardoned him ⁵⁴

Invasion of
Vikrama's
dominions
by Vishnu-
vardhana

In the latter part of Vikrama's reign his dominions were invaded by a prince of the Hoysala branch of the Yādava family reigning at Dvarasamudra, the modern Halebid in Maisur, and with him were associated the kings of the Pandya country, Goa, and Konkan. This Hoysala prince must have been Vishnuvardhana, the younger brother of Ballāja and the grandson of Vinayāditya, who first brought the dynasty into prominence. For in the inscription of Vira Ballāja, the grandson of Vishnuvardhana, at Gaddaka, Vishnuvardhana is represented to have overrun the whole country between his capital [87] and Belvola and washed his horses with the waters of the Krishna-Venū. It is also stated that "he was again and again reminded by his servants of the honour done to him by the King Paramardideva (Vikramāditya), who said, 'Know the Hoysala alone among all princes to be unconquerable.'"⁵⁵ Vikramāditya despatched against these enemies a dependent chief of the name of Āchra or Āchagi, whose territory lay to the south. Āchra, who was "a very lion in war and shining like the hot-rayed sun, sounding his war-cry, pursued and prevailed against Poysala, took Gove, put to flight Lakshma in war, valorously followed after Pandya, dispersed it all times the Malaya, and seized upon the Konkan."⁵⁶ Āchra must have fought several other battles for his

⁵⁴ *Ib.*, XV, 23, 11-12, 1571, p. 27

⁵⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 200. Dr. Fleet's translation of this verse is incorrect. The words are to be thus collected:

—उदयुः यमाधनया दीयममम् चामाग्य इति परमर्षिर्निरुपयः प्रशुभना
य निरुपे सुप्रशुभः॥

⁵⁶ *Four P. B. P. A. S.*, Vol. I, p. 21. To which the Hoysala prince and the other words

master, for he is represented to have made "the kings of Kalunga, Vanga, Maru, Gûrjara, Mâlava, Chera, and Chola (subject) to his sovereign" ⁵⁷ Vikramâditya himself had to take the field against the Chola prince, who had grown insubordinate. He was defeated and fled, and the king returned to his capital ⁵⁸ Vikramâditya II constructed a large temple of Vishnu and had a tank dug in front of it. In the vicinity he founded a town which was called Vikramapura ⁵⁹. He governed his subjects well and they were happy under his rule. The security they enjoyed was so great that, according to Bilhana, "they did not care to close the doors of their houses at night, and instead of thieves the rays of the moon entered through the window openings." He was very liberal and bountiful to the poor and "gave the sixteen great gifts at each holy conjuncture" ⁶⁰. That he was a patron of learning is shown by the fact of a Kâsmîrian Pandit like Bilhana, who travelled over the whole of India in quest of support, having been raised by him to the dignity of Vidyâpatî or chief Pandit. ^{Vikram-âditya's patronage of learning} ^{Vijñânesvara} Vijñânesvara, the author of the *Mîtâksharâ*, which is at present acknowledged over a large part of India, and especially in the Marâṭhâ country, as the chief authority on matters of civil and religious law, flourished in the reign of Vikramâditya and lived at Kalvâna. At the end of most manuscripts of that work there occur three stanzas, which may be translated as follows ⁶¹.

⁵⁷ *Ib*, p. 269

⁵⁸ Bilhana's *Vikr Ch*, XVII, 43-68

⁵⁹ *Ib* XVII, 15, 22, 20, and *Jour R A S*, Vol IV, p. 15

⁶⁰ Bilhana's *Vikr Ch*, XVII, 6, 36-37

⁶¹ See Dr Bûhler's article on the subject in *Jour B B R A S*, Vol IX, p. 134

Section XII

"On the surface of the earth, there was not, there is not, and there will be not, a town like Kalyâna, never was a monarch like the prosperous Vikramârka seen or heard of, and—what more?—Vijñânesvara, the Paṇḍit, does not bear comparison with any other⁶² [88] (person) May this triad which is like a celestial creeper⁶³ exist to the end of the Kalpa!

"May the Lord of wisdom⁶⁴ live as long as the

⁶² Dr Bühler's reading of the last two lines is विज्ञाने श्वरपण्डितो न भजते किं चान्यदप्योपमा कल्पस्य स्थिरमस्तु कल्पलतिकाकल्प सदृश वयम्। The Doctor connects कल्पस्य with किंचान्यत् and translates "nothing else that exists in this Kalpa bears comparison with the learned Vijñânesvara." To mean "nothing else," किंचान्यत् must be किमप्यन्यत्, and in this construction पण्डितो, the nominative, has no verb, अन्यत् being taken as the nominative to the verb भजते. Again, it will not do to say "nothing that exists in this Kalpa bears comparison," &c, for one-half of this Kalpa only has passed away, the other half still remains, and what it *will* produce but *has not* yet produced cannot be spoken of as कल्पस्यम् or "existing in the Kalpa." The only proper reading with a slight alteration is that of the Bombay lithographed edition, which he has given in a footnote and which is किंचान्यदप्योपमासाकल्प. Instead of वा, there must be च here. And this is the reading of a manuscript of the Mitāksharâ, dated Samvat 1535 and Śaka 1401, purchased by me about ten years ago for the Bombay Government. The reading is to be translated as in the text.

⁶³ Like the celestial creeper, in so far as the trial satisfies all desires

⁶⁴ Dr Bühler reads तत्र विज्ञाननाथ and construes it as a vocative. The vocative does not look natural here. The Bombay lithographed edition and my manuscript have विज्ञाननाथ the nominative. Instead of तत्र the former has तत्र and the latter तत्त्वं. I have adopted this last. The author has here taken the name Vijñânesvara in its etymological sense and given to विज्ञान or "knowledge" the

sun and moon endure,—he who produces words which distil honey and than which nothing is more wonderful to the learned, gives wealth exceeding their wishes to a multitude of supplicants,⁶⁵ contemplates the form of the subjugator of Mura, and has conquered the enemies that are born with the body

“May the lord Vikramāditya protect this whole earth as long as the moon and the stars endure,—he whose feet are refulgent with the lustre of the crest jewels of prostrate kings from the bridge, which is the heap of the glory of the best scion of the Raghu race, to the lord of mountains, and from the Western Ocean, the waves⁶⁶ of which surge heavily with the numble shoals of fishes, to the Eastern Ocean ”

Though Sanskrit authors often indulge in hyperbolic expressions without sufficient basis and as mere conventionalities, still the [89] language and manner of these stanzas do show a really enthusiastic admiration in the mind of the writer for the city, its ruler, and the great Pandit, who from the fact of the liberality attributed to him appears to have enjoyed the favour of the king and perhaps held

object तत्त्व or “truth,” the whole meaning “the lord of the knowledge of truth ”

⁶⁵ Dr Bühler's reading here is दातार्थानामतिशययुञ्जामर्थि-
सार्थायताया Here पद्यताया cannot make any sense, it ought to be पर्थिताया, which the lithographed edition and my manuscript have The latter reads the whole line thus — दातार्थानामतिशययुञ्जामर्थिसार्थाधिना(ता)या[] There is another या after this, which is redundant

⁶⁶ The reading of the epithet of the “Western Ocean” is corrupt in all the three I would improve that of the lithographed edition, which is चटुलसिमिकुलीचक्रनिगंतरगात् to चटुलसिमिकुलीचक्ररिक्तरङ्गात् and of my manuscript to तुङ्गवत्य-
चरङ्गात् The root रिङ् is used in connection with waves (see B & R's Lexicon *sub voce*)

Section XII a high office From this and from the description given by Bilhana, as well as from Vikramāditya's inscriptions, of which we have about two hundred, it appears to be an undoubted fact that he was the greatest prince of this later Chālukya dynasty, and that during his reign the country enjoyed happiness and prosperity

Someś-
vara III
or Bhūloka-
malla

Vikramāditya II was succeeded in Śaka 1048 and in the cyclic year *Parābhava* (A D 1127) by his son Someśvara III, who assumed the title of Bhūloka-malla⁶⁷ He had a short reign of about 11 years He is represented to have "placed his feet on the heads of the kings of Andhra, Draviḷa, Magadha, Nepāḷa, and to have been landed by all learned men"⁶⁸ This last praise does not seem to be undeserved, for we have a work in Sanskrit written

Someśvara's
Abhilashī-
tārtha
Chintāmaṇi

by Someśvara entitled *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilashī-tārtha-Chintāmaṇi*, in which a great deal of information on a variety of subjects is given The book is divided into five parts In the first are given the causes which lead to the acquisition of a kingdom, in the second, those that enable one to retain it after he has acquired it, in the third, the kinds of enjoyment which are open to a king after he has rendered his power firm, in the fourth, the modes of diversion which give mental pleasure, and in the fifth, sports or amusements Each of these consists of twenty kinds In the first are included such virtues as shunning lies, refraining from injury to others, continence, generosity, affability, faith in the gods, feeding and supporting the poor and helpless, friends and adherents, &c Under the second head are described what are called the seven *angas*, i e, the ideal king,

⁶⁷ Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 15 The current Śaka year corresponding to *Parābhava* was 1019

⁶⁸ Jour B P R A S, Vol XI, p 268

his ministers including the priest and the astrologer, Section XII
 the treasury and the way of replenishing it, the army,
 &c The enjoyments are—a beautiful palace, bathing,
 anointing, rich clothing, ornaments, &c The
 diversions are—military practice, horsemanship,
 training elephants, wrestling, cockfights, bringing up
 of dogs, poetry, music, dancing, and others The
 last class comprises sports in gardens and fields, or
 on mountains and sandbanks, games, enjoyment of
 the company of women, &c In connection with
 these subjects there are few branches of learning or
 art in Sanskrit the main principles of which are not
 stated We have polity, astronomy, astrology,
 dialectics, rhetoric, poetry, music, painting, architecture,
 medicine, training of horses, elephants, and
 dogs, &c The king does appear to have been a man
 of learning, and it was on that account that he
 received the title of *Sarvajñabhūpa*⁶⁹ or the “all-
 knowing king” In the *Mānasollāsa*, in connection
 with the preparation of an almanac, the day used as
 an epoch from which to calculate the positions of
 certain heavenly bodies is stated as “Friday, the
 beginning of the month of Chaitra, [90] one thousand
 and fifty-one years of Śaka having elapsed, the
 year of the cycle being *Saumya*, while the king Soma,
 the ornament of the Chālukya [race], who was the
 very sage Agastya to the ocean of the essences of all
 the Śāstras,⁷⁰ and whose enemies were destroyed, was
 ruling over the sea-begirt earth⁷¹ This work, there-

Date given
 in the
*Abhilashī-
 tārtha
 Chintāmaṇi*

⁶⁹ *Ib*, pp 259 and 268

⁷⁰ That is, he drank the essences of all the Śāstras or sciences as the sage Agastya drank the whole ocean

⁷¹ एकपञ्चाशदधिके सहस्रे शरदा गते ।

शकस्य सोमभूपाले सति चालुक्यमण्डने ॥

Section XII fore, was written in the fourth year after his accession

Jagadekamalla

Tailapa II

Ambitions
designs of
Vijjala

Someśvara III or Bhūlokamalla was succeeded in the cyclic year *Kālayukti*,⁷² Śaka 1060 or A D 1138, by his son Jagadekamalla. Nothing particular is recorded of him. He reigned for 12 years and was succeeded by his brother Tailapa II, Nurmaḍi Taila or Trailokyamalla, in Śaka 1072, *Pramoda Samvatsara* ⁷³. During these two reigns the power of the Chālukyas rapidly declined, and some of the feudatory chiefs became powerful and arrogant. The opportunity was seized by a dependent chief named Vijjala or Vijjana of the Kalachuri race, who held the office of *Danḍanāyaka* or minister of war under Tailapa. He conceived the design of usurping the throne of his master, and endeavoured to secure the sympathies and co-operation of some of the powerful

समुद्रसनासुर्वी शासति क्षतविद्रिपि ।

सर्वशास्त्रायसर्वम्वपायोधिकलशोद्धवे ॥

सौम्यमवरसरे चेत्रमासादौ शुक्रवासरे ।

परिशाधितसिद्धान्तलब्ध्वा सार्धमका इमे ॥

⁷² The *Siddhārthīn Samvatsara* is mentioned as the second of his reign, wherefore the preceding *Kālayukti* (Śaka 1060) must have been the first. The current Śaka year was 1061. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 141. There are several inscriptions in which the name of Jagadekamalla occurs, but it is difficult to make out whether they belong to the reign of this king or Javasiṃha-Jagadekamalla, since the cyclic year only is given in them. Sometimes the year of the king's reign is also given, but that even does not help in settling the point. For Javasiṃha began to reign in Śaka 940, just 120 years or two complete cycles of 60 years each before Jagadekamalla II, and consequently the cyclic years and the years of their reigns are the same.

⁷³ For the *Yuva Samvatsara* was the sixth of his reign and it fell next after Śaka 1077. In *Pramoda*, 1073 was the current Śaka year and 1072 years had expired, Pali, Sans. and old Can. Ins. No. 181.

and semi-independent chiefs Vijayârka, the Mahâ-
maṇḍalesvara of Kolhâpur, was one of those who
assisted him,⁷⁴ and Prolarâja of the Kâkateya dynasty
of Tailangana, who is represented to have fought
with Tailapa, did so probably to advance the same
cause.⁷⁵ He kept his master Tailapa under complete
subjection till Śaka 1079 or A D 1157, when Tailapa
left Kalvâna and fled to Annigeri in the Dhârvâḍ dis-
trict, which now became the capital of his kingdom
greatly reduced in extent. There is an inscription
dated Śaka 1079, in Vijjana's name, the cyclic
[91] year being *Isvara*, and the next Samvatsara,
Bahudhâṇja, is spoken of as the second year of his
reign.⁷⁶ He does not however seem to have assumed
the titles of supreme sovereignty till Śaka 1084, when
he marched against Tailapa II, who was at Annigeri,
and proclaimed himself an independent monarch.
Tailapa seems then to have gone further south and
established himself at Banavâsi.⁷⁷ The latest year
of his reign mentioned in the inscriptions is the
fifteenth, the Samvatsara or cyclic year being
Pârthiva, which was current next after Śaka 1087.⁷⁷

Assumption
of supreme
sovereignty
by Vijjala

For some time there was an interruption in the
Châlukya power, and the Kalachuris seem to have
held possession of the whole territory of that dynasty.
But internal dissensions consequent on the rise of the
Lingâvata creed and the assassination of Vijjana consi-
derably weakened the power of the Kalachuris, and

⁷⁴ Grant of Bhoja II of Kolhâpur, Trans Bomb Lit Soc, Vol III. See Section XVI.

⁷⁵ He is said to have captured Tailapa and let him off through his devotion for him. He probably owed some allegiance to the Châlukya sovereign. Ins of Rudradeva, Ind Ant, Vol XI, pp 12-13, lines 27-30.

⁷⁶ P S & O C Ins Nos 219 and 182.

⁷⁷ Jour R A S Vol IV, p 16.

⁷⁸ P S & O C Ins No 140.

Section XII about the Śaka year 1104 Somesvara, the son of Nurmaḍi Taila, succeeded in wresting a considerable portion of the hereditary dominions of his family, and established himself at Annigeri. He owed his restoration to power to the valour and devoted attachment of a feudatory of his family named Brahma or Bomma, who fought several battles with the enemies of his master and is said to have conquered sixty elephants by means of a single one⁷⁹. Bomma is represented in an inscription at Annigeri dated Śaka 1106 to have destroyed the Kalachuris and restored the Châlukyas to the throne⁸⁰. But a short time after, the Yādavas of the south rose under Vîra Ballâla and of the north under Bhîllama. They both fought with Bomma, but success at first attended the arms of Vîra Ballâla, who subdued the Châlukya general and put an end to the power of the dynasty⁸¹. We lose trace of Vîra Soma or Somesvara IV after Śaka 1111.

Extinction
of the
Châlukya
power

A branch
of the
Châlukya
family in
Southern
Konkan

The Châlukya family must have thrown out several branches of petty chiefs. One such has been brought to light by a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 1182, *Raudra* Samvatsara, which was in the possession of the Khot of Teravan, a village in the Rîjâpur tâluka of the Ratnâgiri district⁸². The donor Kesava Mahâjani was the minister of a Mahîmandalesvara or chief of the name of Kâṁivadeva, one of whose titles was "the sun that blows open the lotus bud in the shape of the Châlukya race". He is also called *Kalyânapuravarâdhîsvara* or "lord of Kalyân the

⁷⁹ Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 16, Ind Ant, Vol II, p 300, l 29

⁸⁰ Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 16

⁸¹ Ind Ant, Vol II, p 300, ll 29-30

⁸² Published in Jour R A S, Vol V, in Jour P I R A S, Vol IV, p 105, and Memoir, Savant's State, Govt Rec No X

best of cities," which like several such titles of other chiefs⁸³ simply shows that he belonged to the family that once reigned with glory at Kalyâna. The village conveyed by the grant was Teravâṭaka, identified with Teravan itself, from which it would appear that Kâmvadeva was chief of that part of Konkan. There is an inscription in the temple of Ambâbâi at Kolhâpur in which is recorded the grant of a village by Somadeva who belonged to the Châlukya family and reigned at Samgamesvara, which is twelve *kos* to the north-east of Ratnâgiri. Somadeva was the son of Vetugideva and the father of the last was Karnadeva⁸⁴. Probably the Kâmvadeva of the Teravan grant belonged to this branch of the family. There are still Marâṭhâ families of the name of Chaḷke reduced to poverty in the Samgamesvara Tâluka or in the vicinity.

Section XII

⁸³ See *infra*, Section XVI

⁸⁴ Jour B B R A S, Vol II, p 263

[93] SECTION XIII

THE KALACHURIS

Section XIII

Original
seat of the
Kalachuri of
Haihaya
family

THE earliest mention of a family of this name that we have is in connection with Mangalisa of the early Châlukya dynasty. Vinayâditya is represented in one of his inscriptions to have subdued the Haihayas and Vikramâditya II married, as we have seen, two girls who were sisters belonging to the family.¹ The later Rîshtrakûṭa princes were also connected by marriage with the Haihayas. This family known also by the name of Kalachuri or Kulachuri² ruled over Chedi or the country about Jabalpur. The Kalachuris of Kalyâna must have been an offshoot of this family. One of the titles used by Vijjana was *Kâlânjarapuravarâdhîsvara* "or Lord of the best city of Kâlânjara."³ Kâlânjara was a stronghold belonging to the rulers of Chedi⁴ and was probably their capital, though Tripura, the modern Tevur, is also known to have been the principal seat of the family. The title, therefore, connects the Kalyâna branch of the Kalachuris with the Chedi family. This branch was founded by Kṛishna, who in the Belgaum grant⁵ is spoken of as "another Kṛishna," the incarnation of Vishnu, and as "having done wonderful deeds even during his boyhood." He was succeeded by his son Jogama, and Jogama by his son Paramardin. Paramardin was the father of Vijjana. Vijjana before his usurpation called

¹ *Supra*, Section X.

² See grant published in Arch. Surv. West Ind., No. 11.

³ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX, p. 330, No. 50.

⁴ Pillana's *Vidr. Ch.* XVIII, p. 93. Karna seems to be represented here to have conquered Kâlânjara.

⁵ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII, p. 270.

himself only a Mahâmaṇḍalesvara or minor chief, and is first mentioned as a feudatory of Jagadekamalla, the successor of Somesvara III ⁶ The manner in which he drove away Taila III from Kalyâṇa, and having raised himself to the supreme power in the state gradually assumed the titles of a paramount sovereign, has already been described But soon after, a religious revolution took place at Kalyâṇa, and Vijjaṇa and his family succumbed to it

Section XIII

A religious
revolution
at Kalyâṇa

The principal leader of that revolution was a person of the name of Basava A work in Kanarese entitled Basava Purâṇa gives an account of Basava, but it is full of marvellous stories and relates the wonderful miracles wrought by him The principal incidents, however, may be relied on as historical On the other hand there is another work entitled Vijjalarâyacharita, written by a Jaina, which gives an account of the events from the opposite side, since the attacks of the Lingâyatas were chiefly directed against the Jainas, and these were their enemies

Its leader

Basava was the son of a Brâhmaṇ named Mâḍi-râja, who lived at Bâgevâḍi in the Kalâḍgi district Baḷadeva, the prime minister of Vijjaṇa, was his maternal uncle and gave him his daughter in marriage ⁷ After Baḷadeva's death the king appointed Basava his [94] prime minister as being closely related to Baḷadeva ⁸ The Jainas, however, state that Basava had a beautiful sister named Padmâvatî, of whom the king became enamoured and whom he either married or made his mistress⁹, and it was on that account that he was raised to that office and

⁶ P S & O C Ins No 119

⁷ Basava Purâṇa, Jour B B R A S, Vol VIII, p 67

⁸ Jour B B R A S, Vol VIII, p 69

⁹ *Ib*, p 97 Sir W Elliot's paper, Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 20

Section XIII

became a man of influence. There must be some truth in this story, for the Basava Purāṇa narrates that the king gave his younger sister Nilalochanī in marriage to Basava, which looks as if it were a counter-story devised to throw discredit on the other which was so derogatory to Basava.¹⁰ Basava had another sister named Nāgalāmbikā, who had a son named Chenna-Basava or Basava the younger. In concert with him Basava began to propound a new doctrine and a new mode of worshipping Śiva, in which the Linga and the Nandin or bull were prominent. He speedily got a large number of followers, and ordained a great many priests, who were called Jangamas. Basava had charge of the king's treasury, and out of it he spent large amounts in supporting and entertaining these Jangamas, who led a profligate life. Vijjana had another minister named Mañchannā, who was the enemy of Basava, and informed the king of his rival's embezzlements.¹¹ In the course of time Vijjana was completely alienated from Basava and endeavoured to apprehend him. But he made his escape with a number of followers, whereupon the king sent some men in pursuit. These were easily dispersed by Basava, and then Vijjana advanced in person. But a large number of followers now joined Basava, and the king was defeated and had to submit to his minister. Basava was allowed to return to Kalkāna and reinstated in his office.¹² There was, however, no possibility of a complete reconciliation, and after some time the leader of the new sect conceived the design of putting the king to death. The circumstances that immediately led to

Basava's
rebellion

¹⁰ Jour. B. B. R. & S., Vol. VIII, p. 70.

¹¹ *Ib.*, pp. 78 & 80.

¹² Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV, p. 21, Jour. P. B. P. & L., Vol. VIII, p. 80.

the deed and the manner in which it was perpetrated Section XIII.
are thus stated in the Basava Purāna

At Kalvāṇa there were two pious Lingāyatas named Halleyaga and Madhureya, who were the devout adherents of their master Basava Vijjāna, listening to the calumnious accusations of their enemies, caused their eyes to be put out All the disciples of Basava were highly indignant at this cruel treatment of these holy men, and assembled in their master's house Basava ordered Jagaddeva to murder the king, pronounced a curse on Kalvāṇa, and left the town Jagaddeva hesitated for a moment, but his mother spurred him on, and with two companions, Mallava and Bommayā, went straight to the palace of the king, and rushing through the throng of courtiers, counsellors, and princes, they drew their poignards and stabbed Vijjāna Thence they went into the streets, and brandishing their weapons proclaimed the reason of their perpetrating the deed Then arose dissensions in the city, men fought with men, horses with horses, and elephants with elephants, the race of Vijjāna was extinct, Kalvāṇa was a heap of ruins, and the curse pronounced [95] by Basava was verified Basava went in haste to his favourite shrine of Sangamesvara, situated on the confluence of the Malaprabhā with the Krishna, and there in compliance with his prayers the god absorbed him in his body ¹³

The account given by the Jainas is different Jainas
Vijjāna had gone on an expedition to Kolhāpur to account
reduce the Śilāhāra chief Bhoja II to subjection
In the course of his march back to the capital he
encamped at a certain place on the banks of the
Bhīmā, and, while reposing in his tent, Basava sent

¹³ Jour B B R A S, Vol VIII, p 96, Wilson's
Mackenzie MSS, pp 309-310

Section XIII to him a Jangama disguised as a Jaina with a poisoned fruit Vijjana, who is said to have been a Jaina himself, unsuspectingly took the fruit from the hands of the seeming Jaina priest, and as soon as he smelled it, he became senseless His son Immadi Vijjana and others hastened to the spot, but to no purpose Vijjana, however, somewhat recovered his senses for a short while, and knowing who it was that had sent the poisoned fruit, enjoined his son to put Basava to death Immadi Vijjana gave orders that Basava should be arrested and all Jangamas, wherever found, executed¹⁴ On hearing of this, Basava fled, and being pursued went to the Malabar coast and took refuge at a place called Ulavi¹⁵ The town was closely invested and Basava in despair threw himself into a well and died, while his wife Nîlâmbâ put an end to her existence by drinking poison When Vijjana's son was pacified, Chenna Basava surrendered all his uncle's property to him and was admitted into favour¹⁶ He now became the sole leader of the Lingâyatas, but, even before, his position was in some respects superior to that of Basava The religious portion of the movement was under his sole direction, and it was he who shaped the creed of the sect In him the *Pranava* or sacred syllable *Om* is said to have become incarnate to teach the doctrines of the Vira Śiva faith to Basava,¹⁷ and, according to the Chenna-Basava Purāṇa, "Chenna-Basava was Śiva, Basava, Vṛishabhā (or Śiva's bull, the Nandin), Bijjala, the door-keeper, Kalyāṇa, Kailāsa, (and) Śiva worshippers (or

Chenna-
Basava's
leadership

¹⁴ Wilson's *Indian History*, p. 37

¹⁵ *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 22

¹⁶ Wilson's *Indian History*, p. 37

¹⁷ *Ib.*, p. 311

Lingâyatâs), the Śiva host (or the troops of Śiva's Section XIII attendants)"¹⁸

Vijjana's death took place in Śaka 1089 (1090 *current*), or A D 1167. He was succeeded by his son Soma, who is also called Sovideva or *Somesvara* ^{Sovideva}. The Belgaum copper-plate charter was issued by him on the twelfth of the bright half of Kârttika in Śaka 1096, the cyclic year being *Jaṇa*, to confirm the grant of land to fourteen Brâhmanas and the god *Somesvara* made by one of his queens named *Bâvaladevî*. The king had given her his consent to make the grant as a reward for a beautiful song that she sang on an occasion when the most influential persons belonging to his own and other kingdoms had gathered together in his audience-hall. Soma reigned till Śaka 1100 and was followed by his brother *Samkama* ^{Samkama}. Inscriptions come down to the cyclic year *Śubhakṛit*. In an [96] inscription at Baḷagâmve the cyclic year *Vikârin* (Ś 1101) is called the third of his reign,¹⁹ while in another at the same place the same year is spoken of as the fifth.²⁰ In other inscriptions we have two names *Samkama* and *Āhavamalla* and the cyclic years *Sârvarin* (Ś 1102) and *Plava* (Ś 1103) are represented as the third year of his or their reign, which is possible, and *Śubhakṛit* (Ś 1104) as the eighth.²¹ About Śaka 1104 the Châlukya prince *Someśvara IV* wrested some of the provinces of his ancestral dominions from the Kalachuris, and the rest ^{Extinction of the} must have been conquered by the Northern Yâdavas, ^{Kalachuri} so that about this time the Kalachuri dynasty became ^{dynasty} extinct.

¹⁸ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII, p. 127

¹⁹ P. S. & O. C. Ins. No. 183

²⁰ *Ib.* No. 189

²¹ *Ib.* Nos. 190, 192 and 193

Section XIII

Religious
and social
condition of
the people
during the
later
Châluukya
period

Buddhism

Jainism

During the period occupied by the later Châluukya dynasty and the Kalachuris (Śaka 895-1110 or A.D. 973-1188), the old state of things as regards the religious and social condition of the country may be said to have finally disappeared and the new ushered in. First, we have in this period what might be considered the last traces of Buddhism. In the reign of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya II, in the cyclic year *Yuvan*, and the nineteenth of his era (Śaka 1017), sixteen merchants of the Vaiśya caste constructed a Buddhistic *vihāra* or monastery and temple at Dharmavolal, the modern Dambal in the Dhârvād district and assigned for its support and for the maintenance of another *vihāra* at Lokkigundi, the modern Lakkundi, a field and a certain amount of money to be raised by voluntary taxation.²² In Śaka 1032 the Śilāhāra chief of Kolhāpur constructed a large tank and placed on its margin an idol of Buddha along with those of Śiva and Arhat, and assigned lands for their support.²³ Jainism ceased in this period to be the conquering religion that it was, and about the end received an effectual check by the rise of the Lingâyata sect. This new creed spread widely among the trading classes, which before were the chief supporters of Jainism. There is a tradition in some parts of the country that some of the existing temples contained Jain idols at one time and that afterwards they were thrown out and Brâhmanic ones placed instead. This points to a change of feeling with reference to Jainism, the origin of which must be referred to this period.

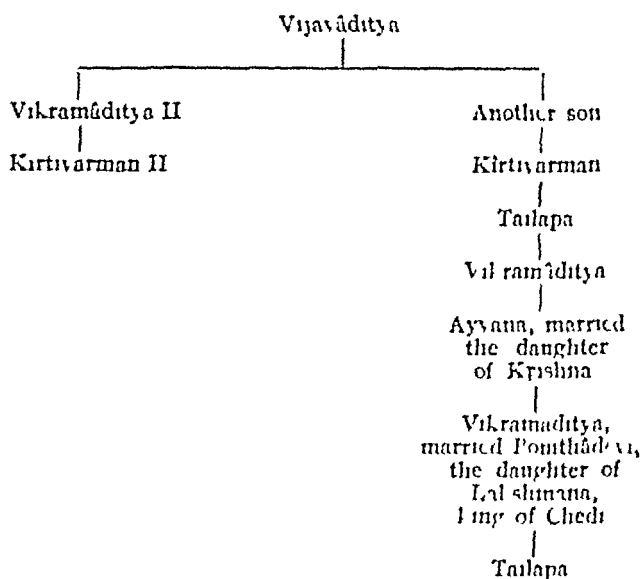
²² Ind. An., Vol. V, p. 12.

²³ Jour. P. B. P. A. S., Vol. LIII, p. 100 and infra, for further details.

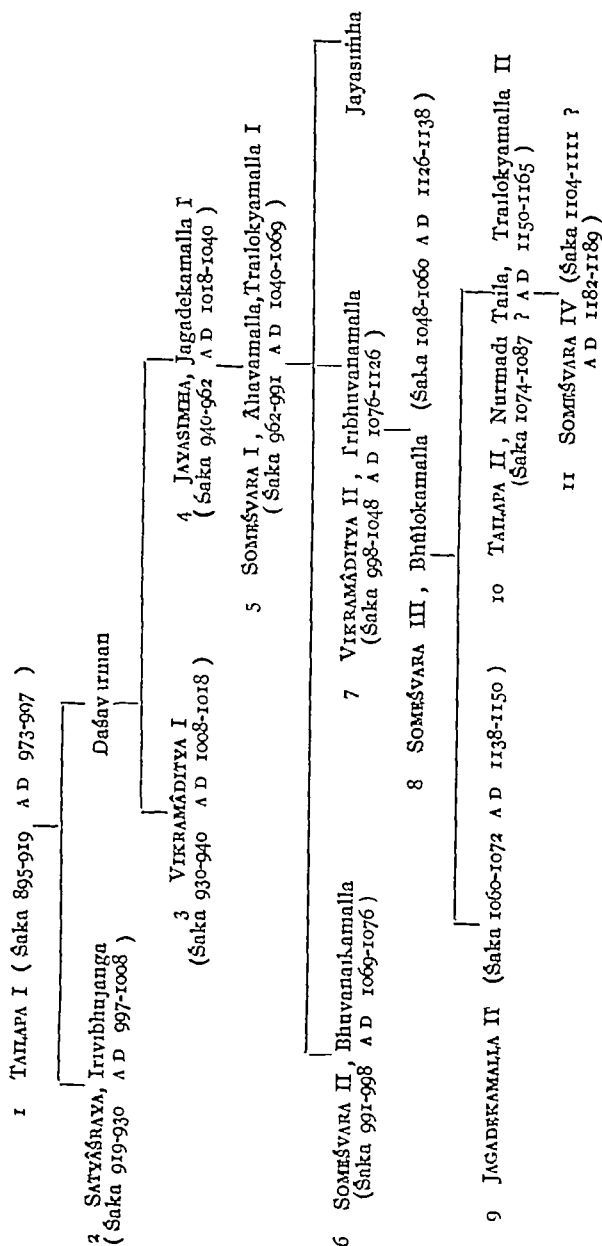
The worship of the Purânic gods flourished , and Section XIII
 as in the times of the early Chûlukyas the old sacrificial rites were reduced to a system, so during this period the endeavours of the Brâhmans and their adherents were for the first time directed towards reducing the civil and the ordinary religious law to a system, or towards its codification, as it might be called. The texts or precepts on the subject were scattered in a great many Smritis and Purânas , and often there were apparent inconsistencies and the law was doubtful. *Nibandhas* or digests, of which we have now so many, began to be written in this period, but the form which they first took, and which even now is one of the recognized forms, was that of commentaries on Smritis. Bhoja of Dhârâ, who belongs to the first part of this [97] period, must have written a treatise on the subject, since under the name of Dhâresvara he is referred to by Vijñânesvara in his work. He was followed by Vijñânesvara, who, as we have seen, lived at Kalvâna in the reign of Vikramâditya II. Aparîkha, another commentator on Yâjñavalkya, who calls his work a *nibandha* on the *Dharmasâstra* or institutes of Yâjñavalkya, was a prince of the Śilâhâra family of northern Konkan and was on the throne in Śaka 1109 (A D 1187) and in the cyclic year *Parabhava* ²¹. Or, if he was the earlier prince of that name, he must have flourished about fifty years before. This movement was continued in the next or thirteenth century by Hemâdri, and by Sâyana in the fourteenth

Purânic
 religion
 Codification
 of the
 civil and
 religious
 law

Section XIII *Genealogy of the Chālukya family between Vijayāditya and
Tallapa as given in the Mitrā grant of Jayasimha
dated Śāla 946*



Genealogy of the later Chālukyas



[98] SECTION XIV

THE YÂDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI

Early History of the Family

Section XIV

Authorities

THE genealogy of the Yâdavas is given in the introduction to the *Vratakhanda* attributed to or composed by Hemâdri who was a minister of Mahâdeva, one of the later princes of the dynasty. Some of the manuscripts of the work, however, do not contain it, and in others it begins with Bhullama, as it was he who acquired supreme power and raised the dynasty to importance. Others again contain an account of the family from the very beginning, the first person mentioned being the Moon who was churned out of the milky ocean. From the Moon the genealogy is carried down through all the Purânic or legendary ancestors to Mahâdeva. But it is not difficult from the account itself to determine where the legend ends and history begins. Besides, the names of most of the historical predecessors of Bhullama agree with those occurring in the copper-plate grant translated by Pandit Bhagvânîl Indraji.¹ He considered the Yâdava dynasty mentioned in his grant to be different from that of Devagiri and called it "A New Yadava Dynasty," as, of course, in the absence of the information I now publish, he was justified in doing. But it is now perfectly clear that the princes mentioned in the grant were the ancestors of the Devagiri Yâdavas. The following early history of the family is based on the account given in the *Vratakhanda*² and on the grant published by the Pandit

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 110 et seq.

² The edition of the *Vratakhanda* in the *Bibliothèque de l'Inde* contains neither of these two or valuable additions.

The latter, however, brings down the genealogy only to [99] Seupachandra II who was on the throne in 991 Śaka or 1069 A D , and omits the names of some of the intermediate princes Two other grants by princes of this dynasty found at Saṁgamner and

Section XIV

portant *Praśastis* I have therefore had recourse to manuscripts There is one manuscript only in the Government collections deposited in the Library of the Dekkan College and that is No 234 of Collection A of 1881-82 which was made by me It contains the shorter *Praśasti* beginning with the reign of Bhūllama There is another copy in the collection belonging to the old Sanskrit College of Poona, which contains the longer *Praśasti* Unfortunately, however, the third and fourth leaves of the manuscript are missing, and the second ends with Parammadeva the successor of Seupachandra II, while the fifth begins with some of the last stanzas of the introduction referring to Hemādri and his works The valuable portion therefore was in leaves 3 and 4, but that is irretrievably lost I therefore endeavoured to procure copies from the private collections in the city of Poona and obtained one from Khâsgivâle's library It contains the shorter *Praśasti* only My learned friend Gangâdhar Śâstri Dâtâr procured another In it the two, the shorter one and the longer, are jumbled together There are in the commencement the first seventeen stanzas of the shorter, and then the longer one begins, and after that is over, we have the remaining stanzas of the shorter This is the only manuscript of the four now before me which contains the whole of the longer *Praśasti*, and the information it gives about the later princes of the dynasty known to us from the inscriptions is also valuable and new, but the manuscript is extremely incorrect I therefore caused a search for other copies to be made at Nâsik, Kolhâpur, and Ahmedabad, but none was available at those places I give the two *Praśastis* in Appendix C [Since the first edition was published I have obtained and purchased another copy of the *Vartakhaṇḍa* for the Government collections The introductory portion here is more correctly written, and I have used it in revising this section and the *Praśasti* in Appendix C]

Section XIV Kalas-Budruk of earlier dates³ have been recently published, and these also have been compared

Dr̥ṣṭha-
prahāra, the
founder of
the family

Subāhu who belonged to the Yādava race was a universal sovereign. He had four sons among whom he divided the whole earth ruled over by him. The second son Dr̥ṣṭhaprahāra⁴ became king in the south or Dekkan. The Yādavas, it is stated, were at first lords of Mathurā, then from the time of Kṛṣṇa they became sovereigns of Dvāravatī or Dvārakā, and came to be rulers of the south from the time of the son of Subāhu, viz., Dr̥ṣṭhaprahāra. His capital was Śrīnagara according to the Vratākhaṇḍa, while from the grant it appears to have been a town of the name of Chandrādityapura, which may have been the modern Chāmdor in the Nāsik district. He had a son of the name of Seunachandra who succeeded to the throne. The country over which he ruled was called Seunadesa⁵ after him, and he appears to have founded a town also of the name of Seunapura. Seunadesa was the name of the region extending from Nāsik to Devagiri, the modern Daulatābād, since later on we are told that Devagiri was situated in Seunadesa and that this latter was situated on the confines of Daṇḍakāranya⁶. This name seems to be preserved in the modern Khāndes. In a foot-note on

Seuna-
chandra I
Seunadesa

³ Mr Cousen's impression of the first of these grants was seen by me before it was published by Prof Kielhorn in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol II, p. 212 *et seq.*, and its contents embodied in the copy of this work revised for this second edition. I have, however, since availed myself of one or two points made out by Prof Kielhorn and not noticed by me. The second grant is published in *Ind Ant.*, Vol XVII, p. 129, *et seq.*

⁴ He is called Dr̥ṣṭhaprahāra (from amr) in the MSS., stanza 20, Appendix C I.

⁵ Stanza 22, Appendix C I.

⁶ Stanza 19, Appendix C II.

the opening page of the Khândes Volume, the Editor of the "Bombay Gazetteer" observes that the name of the country was older than Musalman times, and it was afterwards changed by them to suit the title of Khân given to the Fârukî kings by Ahmed I of Gujarât. Seunadesa, therefore, was very likely the original name and it was changed to Khândes, which name soon came into general use on account of its close resemblance in sound to Seunadesa. The country however extended farther southwards than the present district of Khândes, since it included Devagiri or Daulatâbâd, and probably it did not include the portion north of the Tâpî.

Seunachandra's son Dhâdiyappa⁷ became king after him and he was succeeded by his son Bhillama. After Bhillama, his son Śrîrâja according to the grants, or Râjugi according to the other authority, came to the throne, and he was succeeded⁸ by his son Vaddiga or Vâdugi. Vaddiga is in the Samgamner grant represented as a follower of Kṛishṇarâja who was probably Kṛishna III of the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty, and to have married Voddiyavvâ,

Seunachandra's
successors

⁷ Called Dhâdivasa in the MSS, Appendix C I, stanza 23

⁸ *Ibid* Pandit Bhagvânâlâl translates the words *arîâk tasya* (see note 10 below) occurring in the Yâdava grant as "before him" and placing Vaddiga before Śrîrâja, conjectures that he was Bhillama's son and that Śrîrâja his uncle deposed him and usurped the throne, (Ind Ant, Vol XII, pp 125a and 128b). But *arîâk tasya* can never mean "before him," and must mean "after him," and hence the conjectures are groundless. I have never seen a *preceding* prince mentioned in the grants after his successor, with such an introductory expression as "*before him* so and so became king." By the occurrence of the word अजनिट् in stanza 23, line 2, Appendix C I, it appears Râjugi was the son of Bhillama I.

Section XIV daughter of a [100] prince of the name of Dhorappa. Then came Dhâḍiyasa,⁹ who was the son of Vāduga according to the Vratākhaṇḍa. Two of the grants omit his name, probably because he was only a collateral and not an ancestor of the grantor in the direct line, and the third has a line or two missing here. Dhâḍiyasa was succeeded by Bhūllama, who was the son of Vaddiga or Vāduga and consequently his brother.¹⁰ Bhūllama married according to the grants

⁹ Appendix C I stanza 24. If he had been mentioned in the grant, he would probably have been called Dhâḍiyappa.

¹⁰ *Ibid*. Pandit Bhagvanlāl omits this prince though he is mentioned in his grant. The last two lines of the fourth stanza in this are —

आवाकस्य समुद्र भूतलपरि, श्रीवद्दिगाप्यो नृप
तस्माद्योवरमिदमचिपति प्रत्यक्षमाभवत् ॥

The Pandit translates this — "Before him was the illustrious King Vaddiga, a Hari on earth, and therefore he was exactly like the illustrious good Bhūllama in his actions." I have already remarked that instead of "before him," we should have "after him" here. The word *तस्मात्* is translated by 'therefore' 'Wherefore?' I would ask. No reason is given in the first of these lines for his being exactly like Bhūllama, and therefore, it will not do to translate *तस्मात्* by "therefore." Again, the Pandit's interpretation of *प्रत्यक्षमा* as 'he acts like in actions' is fetched and unnatural. The thing is, the genitive or ablative *चिपति* cannot be connected with any word in the line, and therefore one of the innumerable mistakes which we have in this grant and most of which have been pointed out by the Pandit himself. What is wanted here is the translation *चिपति* for *चिपति* and then the whole is *उपरि*, *नृप*, and *तस्मात्* all have its proper sense of 'after him,' or 'from him.' The correct translation then is "After him was a line of the name of Vāduga the prince, to whom was a Hari on earth, and after him or of him the Vāduga came the pre-pious great Bhūllama in whom virtues were

Lakshmi or Lachchiyavvâ,¹¹ the daughter of Jhañjha, Section XIV
 who was probably the Śilahâra prince of Thâna of
 that name Lachchiyavvâ sprang on her mother's
 side from the Râshtrakûṭa family, and through her
 son became "the upholder of the race of Yadu,"¹²

incarnate " In this way we have here another king
 Bhullama, as mentioned in the Praśasti in the Vratakhanda
 in the passage cited above

¹¹ This lady, according to my translation, becomes the
 wife of Bhullama, who is the king mentioned immediately
 before and not of his father Vaddiga as the Paṇḍit makes
 out

¹² Here there is another difficulty arising from a mistake
 in the grant which Paṇḍit Bhagvānlal has in my opinion
 not succeeded in solving, and he bases upon that mistake
 conjectures which are rather too far reaching (p 125a, Ind
 Ant, Vol XII) The stanza is —

भाया यस्य च भङ्गराजतनया श्रीलक्ष्म्यव्याहया
 धर्मत्यागविवेकबुद्धिसगुणा राष्ट्रकूटान्वया ।
 या जाता नवबालनाजसमये यदन्वयाधारिता
 सप्तांगीयतरान्वभारधरणाद्रायव्याह्या तत ॥

The Paṇḍit's translation is — "Whose wife was the daughter
 of king Jhañjha Lasthiyavvâ by name, possessed of the
 (three) good qualities of virtue, liberality, and hospitality,
 who was of the Râshtrakûṭa race, as being adopted (by
 them) at the time of the rule of the young prince (during
 his minority) and who therefore by reason of bearing the
 burden of the kingdoms, with its seven angas, was an
 object of reverence to the three kingdoms "

I agree with the Paṇḍit in reading श्री before राष्ट्रकूटान्वया
 and taking रायव्य as रास्यव्य, and, generally, in his transla-
 tion of the first two and the fourth lines But the transla-
 tion of the third line, that is, the portion italicised in the
 above, is very objectionable The Paṇḍit reads राज from नाज
 and says that the य in यदन्वया० ought to be long for the
 metre, but would make no sense Now, in seeking the true
 solution of the difficulty here, we must bear in mind that
 in the fourth line the lady is spoken of as "an object of
 reverence to the three kingdoms " Which are the three

Section XIV

so that she was connected with three ruling dynasties and flourishing kingdoms. The Samgamner grant appears to have been issued by this Bhullama in the Śaka year 922, i.e. 1000 A.D., and the prince mentioned in [101] the grant as having struck a blow against the power of Muñja and rendered the sovereign authority of Ranarangabhīma firm seems also to be he himself. Ranarangabhīma was probably

kingdoms? First evidently, that of Jhañjha, her father, who is spoken of in the first line, and secondly, that of the Rāshtrakūṭas from whose race she is spoken of as having sprung in the second line. Now, we must expect some allusion to the third kingdom in the third line. The third kingdom was clearly that of the Yādavas into whose family she had been married. I, therefore, read यदन्वया० for यदन्वया० and thus the difficulty about the metre is removed, the य becoming prosodially long in consequence of the following द. In the same manner I think बालनाम is a mistake for बालजान. The word जान the writer must have taken from his vernacular and considered it a Sanskrit word, or probably not knowing Sanskrit well, he must have formed it from the root जन् on the analogy of माद from मद्, गद् from गद्, मान from मन् &c. Or बालनाम may be considered as a mistake for बालजन्म, the sense being the same, viz. "birth of a child." The compound यदन्वयाधारिता is to be dissolved as आधारित यदन्वय यया। आधारित being made the second member according to Pāṇini II 2, 37. Or, the line may be read as या याता नवबालजन्ममयी यदन्वयाधारिता, the dot over ता being omitted by mistake, and याता written as जाता in consequence of the usual confusion between य and ज. The translation of the line, therefore, is "she became the upholder of the race of Yāda on the occasion of the birth of a new child," i.e. through her child she became the upholder of the Yādava race. In the manner the supposition of her being adopted by the Rāshtrakūṭas during the young prince's minority becomes groundless. She must have belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa race on her mother's side.

Tailapa, and thus it follows that the Yādava prince Section XIV
 Bhīllama II assisted Tailapa in his war with Muñja
 which we have already noticed Vaddiga was a
 follower of Kṛishna III of the Rāshtrakūṭa family,
 whose latest known date is 881 Śaka, and Bhīllama II
 of Tailapa The date 922 Śaka of Bhīllama's grant
 is consistent with these facts The Yādavas appear
 thus to have transferred their allegiance from the old
 to the new dynasty of paramount sovereigns as soon
 as it rose to power The next king was Vesugi¹³
 called in Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl's grant Tesuka, which is
 a mistake or misreading for Vesuka or Vesuga He
 married Nāyaladevī, the daughter of Gogī, who is
 styled a feudatory of the Chālukya family,¹⁴ and was
 perhaps the same as the successor of the Thānā prince
 Jhañjha The Rāshtrakūṭas must have been over-
 thrown by the Chālukyas about the end of Jhañjha's
 reign, and thus his successor became a feudatory of
 the Chālukyas

[102] The Vratākhaṇḍa places Arjuna after
 Vesugi,¹⁵ but the two grants omit his name, and
 perhaps the former mentions Arjuna not as a Yādava
 prince, but Arjuna the Pāṇḍava, meaning to compare
 Vesugi with him and his enemies to Bhīshma The
 next king was Bhīllama¹⁶ who according to the Kalas-
 Budruk grant was Vesugi's son He married Hammā, Bhīllama
 the daughter of Jayasīmha and sister of Āhavamalla, III,
son-in-law of
Jayasīmha
 the Chālukya emperor, under whose standard he

¹³ Stanza 24, Appendix C I

¹⁴ The expression चाकुयान्वयमखलोक in the grant
 admits of being taken in the manner I have done, मखलोक
 being a mistake for माखलिक The Paṇḍit understands
 Gogirāja as belonging to the Chālukya race I consider my
 interpretation to be more probable

¹⁵ Stanza 24, Appendix C I

¹⁶ Stanza 26, *Ibid*

Section XIV fought several battles¹⁷ The Kalas-Budruk charter was issued by this prince in 948 Śaka The cyclic year being Krodhana, 948 Śaka must have been the current year, corresponding to 1025 A D Pandit Bhagvānlāl's grant then proceeds at once to the donor, the reigning prince Seuna, who is spoken of in general terms as "having sprung from the race" of the last-mentioned king, and is represented to have defeated several kings and freed his kingdom from enemies after "the death of Bhullama" Thus Bhullama was his immediate predecessor, but he was a different person from the brother-in-law of Āhavamalla, since Seuna, is spoken of not as the son of the latter or any such near relation but simply as "having sprung from his race" The Vratakhanda supplies the names of the intermediate princes The elder Bhullama was succeeded by Vādugi,¹⁸ his son, "whose praise was sung by poets in melodious words" After him Vesugi¹⁹ became king, but how he was related to Vādugi we are not told He humbled a number of subordinate chiefs who had grown troublesome Then came Bhullama, and after him Seuna²⁰ who issued the charter translated by Pandit Bhagvānlāl What relationship the last three princes bore to each other is not stated Seuna is represented to have saved Paramardideva, that is, Vikramāditya II, who is styled the "luminary of the Chālukya family" from a coalition of his enemies, and to have placed him on the throne of Kalyāṇa²¹ This appears to be a reference to the coalition between the Vengi prince and Vikramāditya's brother Somesvara The Yādava

Seuna-
chandra II
the ally of
Vikram-
āditya II

17 This appears to me to be the general sense of stanza 9 and not that he fought with Āhavamalla as Pandit Bhagvānlāl understands I need not discuss the matter in detail

18 Stanza 26, Appendix C I

19 Stanza 27, *Iti*

20 Stanza 28, *Iti*

21 Stanza 29, *Iti*

prince Seuna was thus a close ally of the Châlukya monarch and their dates also are consistent with the fact Seunachandra's grant is dated Śaka 991 *Saumya Samvatsara*, while Vikramāditya II got possession of the Châlukya throne in Śaka 998 *Nala*. The grant mentions the relations of previous Yâdava princes to the Châlukyas of Kalyâna, while the important service rendered by Seunachandra to Vikramāditya is not recorded, and he is spoken of only in general terms as having vanquished "all kings." This itself shows that in all likelihood the fact mentioned in the *Vratakhanda* of Seunachandra's having delivered that prince from his enemies and placed him on the throne took place after Śaka 991, and we know it as a matter of fact that Vikramāditya became king in Śaka 998.

[103] Seunachandra was succeeded by Paramma-
deva who was probably his son, and after him came
Simharâja²² or "King Simha," whose full name was
Singhapa²³ and who appears to have been his brother.
He is said to have brought an elephant of the name
of Karpûratilaka from Lañjîpura and thus did a
piece of service to Paramardîna, who appears to be
Vikramāditya II of the Châlukya dynasty²⁴. He was
succeeded by his son Mallugî, who took a town of
the name of Parnakheṭa from his enemies, and while
residing there carried away by force the troop of
elephants belonging to the king of Utkala or Orissa²⁵.
Then followed his son Amaragângeya²⁶ whose name
is mentioned in a copper-plate grant issued in the
reign of a subsequent king²⁷. After him came

Successors
of Seunachandra II

²² Stanzas 30 and 31, Appendix C I

²³ Ind Ant, Vol XIV, p 315

²⁴ Stanza 32, Appendix C I

²⁵ Stanzas 33 and 34, *Ibid*

²⁶ Stanza 35, *Ibid*

²⁷ Jour B B R A S, Vol XV, p 386

Section XIV

Bhīllama V,
the founder
of the
Yādava
Empire

Govindarāja who was probably his son Govindarāja was succeeded by Amaramallagī, a son of Mallugī, and he by Kāliya Ballāja. This prince was in all likelihood the son of Amaramallagī, though it is not expressly stated. Ballāja's sons were set aside and the sovereignty of the Yādava family fell into the hands of his uncle Bhīllama,²⁸ who was possessed of superior abilities. Bhīllama being represented as the uncle of Ballāja must have been another son of Mallugī, and he is so spoken of in the grant referred to above.²⁹ He got possession of the throne after two of his brothers and their sons, wherefore he must have been a very old man at the time. Hence it is that he reigned only for a short time, having come to the throne in Śaka 1109 and died in 1113. It was this Bhīllama who acquired for his family the empire that was ruled over by the Chālukyas.

Seuna-
chandra of
Aūjaneri

Pandit Bhagvānlāl has published a stone-inscrip

²⁸ Stanzas 35-37, Appendix C I

²⁹ In an inscription at Gadag published by Dr. Kielhorn (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. 219) Bhīllama is represented as the son of Karna, who is said to be a brother of Amara-gāugeya. In the many inscriptions of the Yādava dynasty and in the Prastāvis given in several books the name Karna does not occur even once. The Gadag inscription makes Mallugī the son of Sevanadeva, while in the Vratālaṅkāṭha and the Paṭhan plates he is represented as the son of Singhaṇṇa, who according to the former authority was one of the successors of Seunachandra and was probably his younger son. The inscription is here opposed to two authorities which agree with each other. Hence this must be a mistake and that makes it probable that the other is also a mistake. These suppositions are strengthened by the fact that the composer of the Gadag inscription does not mention a single particular fact with reference to any one of the princes, thus showing that he had no accurate knowledge of them. Such a merely conventional description is characteristic of a forged charter. I am, for these reasons, inclined to think that the Gadag grant published by Dr. Kielhorn is a forgery.

tion³⁰ existing in a ruined temple at Añjaneri near Nashik, in which a chief of the Yādava family, named Seunadeva, is represented to have made some grant in the Śaka year 1063³¹ to a Jain temple. From the account given above, it will be seen that there were two princes only of the name of Seunra in the Yādava family, and that the later of the two was an ally of Vikramāditya II, and consequently reigned about the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century of the Śaka [104] era. The Seunadeva of the Añjaneri inscription therefore can not be this individual, and no other prince of that name is mentioned in the Vratakhanda. Besides Seundeva calls himself pointedly a *Mahāsāmanta* or chief only, while about 1063 Śaka, when the Chalukya power had begun to decline, it does not appear likely that the Yādava of Seunadeva should give themselves such an inferior title. It therefore appears to me that the Seunadeva of Añjaneri belonged to a minor branch of the Yādava family dependent on the main branch, and that the branch ruled over a small district of which Añjaneri was the chief city.

The number of princes who reigned from Dridhaprahara to Bhallama V inclusive is 22. There are in the list a good many who belonged to the same generation as their predecessors and consequently these twenty-two do not represent so many different generations. Allowing, therefore, the usual average, in such cases of 18 years to each reign, the period that must have elapsed between the accession of Dridhaprahara and the death of Bhallama V is 396 years. The dynasty, therefore, was founded about

Section XIV
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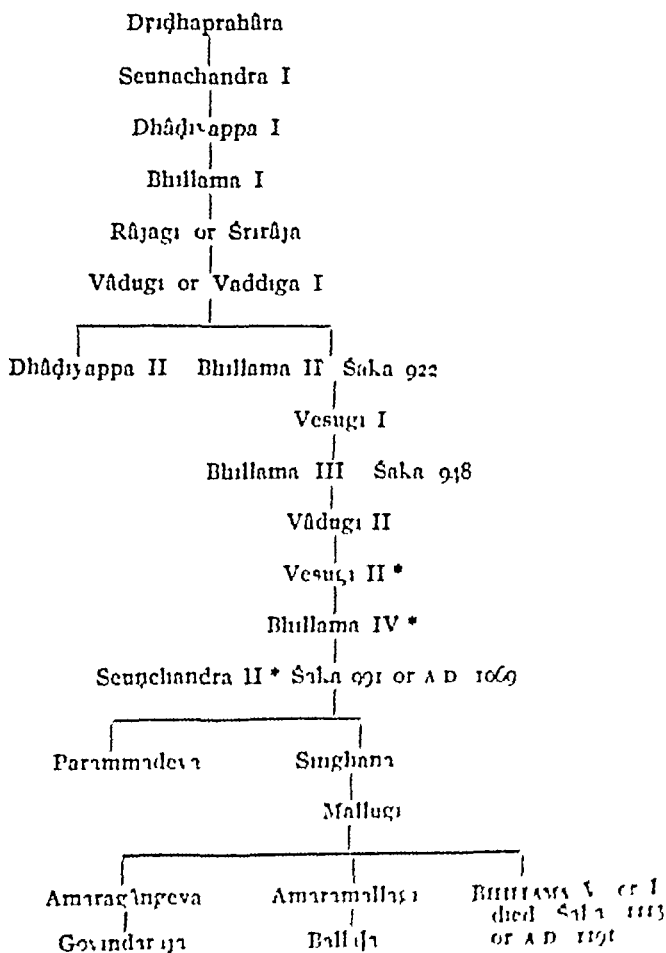
³⁰ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 126

³¹ The correct year has been shown to be 1064 Śaka by Prof. Kielhorn, Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 422

Section XIV

757 Śaka or 795 A D, that is, about the time of Govind III of the Rāshtrakūṭa race. Possibly considering that Vaddiga I was contemporary of Kṛishna III, one might say that the dynasty was founded in the latter part of the reign of Amoghavarsha I.

Genealogy of the early Yādavas or the Yādavas of Seunadesa



* The relations of those whose names are marked with an asterisk to their predecessors are not clearly stated.

[105] SECTION XV

THE YÂDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI

Later History

WE have seen that the Hoysala Yâdavas of Section XV Halebid in Maişur were becoming powerful in the time of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramâditya II and aspiring to the supreme sovereignty of the Dekkan, and Vishṇuvardhana, the reigning prince of the family at that period, actually invaded the Châlukya territory and encamped on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa-Veṇâ. But those times were not favourable for the realization of their ambitious projects. The Châlukya prince was a man of great ability, the power of the family was firmly established over the country, its resources were large, and the dependent chiefs and noblemen were obedient. But the state of things had now changed. Weaker princes had succeeded, the Châlukya power had been broken by their dependents the Kalachuris, and these in their turn had succumbed to the internal troubles and dissensions consequent on the rise of the Lingâyata sect. At this time the occupant of the Hoysala throne was Vîra Ballâla, the grandson of Vishṇuvardhana. He fought with Brâhma or Bomma, the general of the last Châlukya prince Somesvara IV, and putting down his elephants by means of his horses defeated him and acquired the provinces which the general had won back from Vijjaṇa¹.

The Yâdavas of the north were not slow to take advantage of the unsettled condition of the country to extend their power and territory. Malluḡi seems to have been engaged in a war with Vijjaṇa. A

Ambitious
projects of
the Hoysala
Yâdavas

Vîra
Ballâla

Rise of
Bhullama

¹ Ind Ant, Vol II, p 300

Section XV

person of the name of Dādā was commander of his troops of elephants and is represented to have gained some advantages over the army of the Kalachuri prince. He had four sons of the names of Mahādhara, Jahla, Sām̐ba, and Gaugādhara. Of these Mahādhara succeeded his father and is spoken of as having defeated the forces of Vijjana². But the acquisition of the empire of the Chālukyas was [106] completed by Mallugi's son Bhīllama. He captured a town of the name of Śrīvardhana from a king who is called Antala, vanquished in battle the king of Pratyandaka, put to death the ruler of Mangalaveshtaka, (Mangalveḍhem), of the name of Villana, and having obtained the sovereignty of Kalyāna, put to death the lord of Hosala who was probably the Hoysala Yādava Narasimha, the father of Vira Ballāla³. The commander of his elephants was Jahla, the brother of Mahādhara, and he is represented to have rendered Bhīllama's power firm. He led a maddened elephant skilfully into the army of the Gūjara king, struck terror into the heart of Malla, frightened the forces

² Introduction to Jahlan's *Sūl timuktavali*, now brought to notice for the first time

सम्यान्वयेऽभूत्करिहन्तनाथो दादा मददानमिदाममत ।
यस्यैववादिज्जयमुपसैन्य देव्य गतं संयति विक्रमेव ॥ ५ ॥
चत्वारम्बस्य साञ्जसाम्बस्य मयगादिन ।
भुजा इव हरी शयदिक्रमश्रीविमुपिता ॥ ६ ॥
चतुर्भुजमुग्रोद्घोषनिगमा इव ते यम् ।
ग्याता मद्योधरो कश्च साग्यो मद्राधरम्बया ॥ ७ ॥
उपायैरिव ते काले चतुर्भिं सुप्रयोजिते ।
ने (ने) मुगिचोपिपालस्य रात्री जातं मदीशतम् ॥ ८ ॥
विश्वदयलजलराशि विमध्य भुजमन्दरेण य इतवान् ।
दीर्घद्वयमद्वयौ म न सस्य मद्योधर म्बय ॥ ९ ॥

The full introduction will be published elsewhere.

³ Appendix C I, stanza 16. *Maṅgalādhara* is the name of Pandharpa. It is probably the capital of a ruler of the

of Mallugī, and put an end to the victorious career of Muñja and Anna ⁴ When in this manner Bhūllama made himself master of the whole country to the north of the Kṛishnā, he founded the city of Devagiri⁵ and having got himself crowned, made that city his capital This took place about the Śaka year 1109

Section XV

Foundation
of Devagiri

Bhūllama then endeavoured to extend his territory farther southwards, but he was opposed by Vīra Ballāḷa, who, as we have seen, had been pushing his conquests northwards It was a contest for the possession of an empire and was consequently arduous and determined Several battles took place between the two rivals, and eventually a decisive engagement was fought at Lokkigunḍī, now Lakkunḍī, in the Dhârvâḍ District, in which Jaitrasimha, who is compared to "the right arm of Bhūllama" and must have been his son, was defeated and Vīra Ballāḷa became sovereign of Kuntala The inscription in which this is recorded bears the date Śaka 1114 or A D 1192,⁶ and Vīra Ballāḷa who made the grant recorded in it was at that time encamped with his victorious army at Lokkigunḍī, from which

Contests
between
the rivals

⁴ Intr Jahl Sukt —

विजित्य विष्णुं याते सुरलोकं महीपते ।
 निनाय भिल्लमं जङ्घो राजतां चयवर्जिताम् ॥ ११ ॥
 गूर्जरभूभटकटके कण्टकविषमेऽतिदुर्गमे येन ।
 भगदत्तकौर्तिभाजा दुष्टगजस्त्रेष्कया नीतः ॥ १२ ॥
 मल्ल पल्लवितोरुमौतिरभितस्त्रस्यदहलो मैत्रुगि-
 र्मुञ्च पिच्छितविक्रमस्त्रिभुवननृप्रा किल ब्राह्मण ।
 अत्रो मुञ्चपराक्रमो विधुतमूर्धमसूर्यप्राङ्गणे
 येनाकारि मुरारिविक्रमभृता किं किं न तस्योर्जितम् ॥ १३ ॥

The Mallugī mentioned here must have been one of the enemies of Bhūllama He probably belonged to a minor branch of the Yādava family

⁵ Appendix C I, st 39

⁶ Ind Ant, Vol II, p 300

Section XV it would appear that the battle had taken place but a short time before. The northern Yādavas had to put off the conquest of Kuntala or the Southern Marāṭhā Country for a generation.

Jaitrapāla

Bhillama was succeeded in 1113 Śaka by his son Jaitrapāla or Jaitugi. He took an active part in his father's battles. "He assumed [107] the sacrificial vow on the holy ground of the battle-field and throwing a great many kins into the fire of his prowess by means of the ladles of his weapons, performed a human sacrifice by immolating a victim in the shape of the fierce Rudra, the lord of the Tailangas, and vanquished the three worlds"⁷ This same fact is alluded to in the Paṭhan grant, in which Jaitugi is represented to have killed the king of the Trikalungas in battle. He is there spoken of also as having released Ganapati from prison and to have placed him on the throne⁸. The Rudra therefore whom he is thus represented to have killed on the field of battle must have been the Rudradeva of the Kākatiya dynasty whose inscription we have at Anamkonḍ near Worangal, and the Ganpati, his nephew⁹ who was probably placed in confinement by Rudradeva. In other places also his war with the king of the Andhras or Tailangas and his having

⁷ Appendix C I, st. 41. Just as the fruit of a horse sacrifice is the conquest of the whole world, the fruit of a man sacrifice is supposed here to be the conquest of the three worlds. Jaitrapāla performed metaphorically such a sacrifice, and that is considered to be the reason, as a result of his having obtained victories everywhere, for in the usual hyperbolic language, of his having succeeded in vanquishing the three worlds.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 316.

⁹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 197.

raised Ganapati to the throne are alluded¹⁰ to, and he is represented to have deprived the Andhra ladies of the happiness arising from having their husbands living¹¹ Lakshmîdhara, the son of the celebrated mathematician and astronomer Bhâskarâcharya, was in the service of Jaitrapâla and was placed by him at the head of all learned Paṇḍits He knew the Vedas and was versed in the Tarkasâstra and Mîmâmsâ¹² Section XV

Jaitrapâla's son and successor was Singhana, Singhana under whom the power and territory of the family greatly increased He ascended the throne in 1132 Śaka¹³ He defeated a king of the name of Jajjalla and brought away his elephants He deprived a monarch named Kakkûla of his sovereignty, destroyed Arjuna who was probably the sovereign of Mâlva, and made Bhoja a prisoner Janârdana, the son of Gangâdhara, who was Jahla's brother, is said to have taught Singhana the art of managing elephants which enabled him to vanquish Arjuna¹⁴ He had succeeded to the office of commander of elephants held by Jahla and after him by Gangâdhara "King Laksh-[108] mîdhara, the lion of Bhambhâgiri, was reduced, the ruler of Dhârâ was besieged by means of troops of horses, and the whole of the country in

¹⁰ Jour B B R A S, Vol XV, p 386, and Epigraphia Indica, Vol III, p 113

¹¹ Jour R A S, Vol I, N S, p 414

¹² *Ib* p 415

¹³ Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 5

¹⁴ Intr Jahl Sukt —

भासीङ्गाधरस्तस्य साता गङ्गाधरोपम ।

एकान्वयस्य यो व्यालान्मुसीकेकान्यदृष्ट्या ॥ १६ ॥

तस्याभवत्सुमुरन्मसस्त्री जनार्दनाङ्ग करिवाङ्गिनीश ।

समुद्रवदो भुवर्धनं धमार सह श्रिया विधमशेषमेवत् ॥ १८ ॥

सिंहोऽप्यध्यापितस्तेन गजशिर्षां तदङ्गुलम् ।

यजार्जुनं लसत्पदं समूलमुदमूलयत् ॥ २० ॥

Section XV the possession of Ballāja was taken. All this was but a child's play, to King Singhana.¹⁵ Jajalla must have been a prince belonging to the eastern branch of the Chedi dynasty that ruled over the province of Cōhātisgarh, for that name occurs in the genealogy of that dynasty.¹⁶ The name Kollāla I would identify with Kollāla which was borne by some princes of the western branch of the family, the capital of which was Tripura or Tevur. The kings of Māhārā and Kāś were killed by him in battle and Hammira was conquered by but a boy-general of Singhana.¹⁷ In an inscription also at Tūvali, in the Dhārwad District, he is represented to have defeated Jajalladeva, conquered Ballāja the Hoysala king, subdued Broja of Panhāl, and humbled the sovereign of Mālava.¹⁸ He is also spoken of as "the road of the elephant in the shape of the Gārgara king."¹⁹ We have an inscription of his at Gaddala dated 1135 Śaka, which shows that Vira Bahūla must have been deprived of the southern part of the country before that time.²⁰ Singhana is represented as reigning at his capital Devagiri.²¹

The Bhoja of Panhāl soon or above was a prince of the Śilāhara dynasty, and after his defeat the Kōthāpur kingdom appears to have been annexed by the Yādavas to their dominions. They put an end to this branch of the family as later on they did

¹⁵ Appendix C I, st. 43 and 44. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 216.

¹⁶ General Cunningham's Arch. Reports, Vol. XVII, pp. 72, 76 and 79.

¹⁷ Jour. R. A. S., Vol. I, N. S. p. 21.

¹⁸ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX, p. 216.

¹⁹ Major Graham's Report on Kolhapur. Ins. No. 22.

²⁰ Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 207.

²¹ Major Graham's Report. Ins., No. 70.

to another which ruled over Northern Konkan From this time forward the Kolhâpur inscriptions contain the names of the Yâdava princes with those of the governors appointed by them to rule over the district An inscription of Singhana at Khedrâpur in that district records the grant of a village to the temple of Koppesvara in the year 1136 Śaka

Singhana seems to have invaded Gujarât several times In an inscription at Âmbem a Brâhman chief of the name of Kholesvara of the Mudgala Gotra is spoken of as a very brave general in the service of the Yâdava sovereign He humbled the pride of the Gûrjara prince, crushed the Mâlava, destroyed the race of the king of the Âbhîras, and being like "wild fire to the enemies" of his master, left nothing for Singhana to be anxious about His son Râma succeeded him, and a large expedition under his command was again sent to Gujarât Râma advanced up to the Narmadâ, where a battle was fought, in which he slew numbers of Gûrjara soldiers, but he himself lost his life ²² From this it would appear that Gujarât was invaded by Singhana on two occasions at least, if not more, and this is borne out by what we find stated in the authorities [109] for the history of Gujarât Somadeva, the author of the Kîrttikaumudî, which gives an account of the minister Vastupâla and his masters the princes of the Vâghelâ branch of the Châlukya family, describes an invasion of Gujarât by Singhana in the time of Lavaṇaprasâda and his son Viradhavala "The capital of Gujarât trembled with fear when the advance of Singhana's army was reported Being afraid of this foreign invasion no one among the subjects of the Gûrjara king began the construction of a new house or stored grain, and the minds of all

Singhana's
invasions of
Gujarât

First
Invasion.

Section XV

Second
Invasion

tion, [110] therefore, was that Lavaṇaprasâda had to submit and conclude a treaty of alliance with Singhapa

This invasion of Gujarât must have been one of the earlier ones alluded to in the Âmbem inscription, and Kholesvara himself must have been the commander of the Yâdava army on the occasion. For Lavaṇaprasâda is said to have declared himself independent of his original master Bhîma II of Anahilapattana about the year 1276 Vikrama,²⁷ corresponding to 1141 Śaka, which was about the ninth or tenth year of Singhapa's reign, and the work in which the treaty mentioned above occurs was composed in 1288 Vikrama, i.e. 1153 Śaka. But the expedition under the command of Râma, the son of Kholesvara, must have been sent a short time before

"On this day the 15th Sudi of Vaiśākha, in the year Samvat 1288, in the Camp of Victory, [a treaty] between the paramount king of kings, the prosperous Simhapa and the Mahâmaṇḍalesvara Rânaka, the prosperous Lâvaṇaprasâda Simhapa whose patrimony is paramount sovereignty, and the Mahâmaṇḍalesvara Rânâ the prosperous Lâvaṇaprasâda should according to former usage confine themselves, each to his own country, neither should invade the country of the other "

The treaty then provides that when either of them is taken up by an enemy, the armies of both should march to his release, that if a prince from either country ran away into the other with some valuable things, he should not be allowed quarter, &c. Now, it is extremely unlikely that the author of the work should introduce these persons in his form unless he had seen or heard of such a treaty between them. Simhapa is but another form of Singhapa, and he is spoken of as a paramount sovereign. The treaty, it will be seen, was concluded in the "victorious camp," which is a clear reference to the invasion described by Someśvara.

In रहणीयं we have, I think, the vernacular root रह "to remain," "to live." For further details see my Report on the search for manuscripts during 1882-83, pp. 39 and 225.

Śaka 1160, the date of the Ambem inscription For Râma's son is represented to have been a minor under the guardianship of that chief's sister Lakshmi, who governed the principality in the name of the boy Râma, therefore, had not died so many years before Śaka 1160 as to allow of his boy having attained his majority by that time On the occasion of this expedition Visaladeva, the son of Viradhavala, was the sovereign of Gujarât For in an inscription of his he boasts [111] of his having been "the submarine fire that dried up the ocean of Singhana's army,"²³ and he must have succeeded his father about the year 1292 Vikrama corresponding to Śaka 1157,²⁹ though he obtained possession of the throne at Anahilapattana in Vikrama 1302, corresponding to Śaka 1167 and 1246 A D The foundation of his boast was probably the fact of Râma's having been killed in the battle What the ultimate result was, however, the inscription does not inform us

Singhana appointed one Bichaga or Bicha, the son of Chikka and younger brother of Malla, to be governor of the southern provinces and his viceroy there He fought with his master's enemies in the south as Kholesvara did in the north and kept them in check Bichaga is represented to have humbled the Raṭṭas who were petty feudatories in the Southern Marāṭhā Country, the Kadambas of Konkan, &c of Goa, the Guttas sprung from the ancient Guptas, who held a principality in the south, the Pāṇḍyas, the Hoysalas, and the chiefs of other southern provinces, and to have erected a triumphal

Conquests
in the
South

²³ Ind Ant, Vol VI pp 191 and 212

²⁹ Viradhavala, it is said, died not long before Vastupāla The death of the latter took place in Vikrama 1297 Vastupāla was minister to Visaladeva also for some time We might, therefore, refer the accession of the latter to Vikrama 1292 Ind Ant, Vol VI, p 190

Section XV

column on the banks of the Kâveri³⁰ The date of the grant in which all this is recorded is Śaka 1160 or A D 1238

Singhana's titles

It thus appears that the Yâdava empire became in the time of Singhana as extensive as that ruled over by the ablest monarchs of the preceding dynasties The full title of a paramount sovereign are given to Singhana in his inscriptions, such as "the support of the whole world," "the lover of the earth (*Pṛithvivallabha*)," and "king of kings" Since Kṛishṇa, the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu, is represented in the Purâṇas to have belonged to the Yâdava family, the princes of Devagiri called themselves *Viṣṇuvamśodbhava*,³¹ and as Kṛishṇa and his immediate descendants reigned at Dvârakâ, they assumed the title of *Dvâravatîpuravarâdhîśvara*, "the supreme lord of Dvâravatî, the best of cities"³² In the reign of Singhana as well as of his two predecessors the office of chief secretary or *Śrīkaranâdhīpa*, which in a subsequent reign was conferred on Hemâdri, was held by a man of the name of Soḍhala He was the son of Bhâskara, a native of Kaśmīr who had settled in the Dekkan Soḍhala's son Śarugadhara wrote in this reign a treatise on music entitled *Samgītaratnâkara* which is extant³³ There is a com-

³⁰ Jour B B R A S, Vol XV, pp 386-7, and Vol XII, p 43

³¹ i.e. "of the race of Viṣṇu"

³² Graham's Report, Ins No 10, and Jour B B R A S, Vol XII, p 7

³³ तस्यामूषमय प्रभूतविनय श्रीसीढल प्रौढधीर्मेन श्रीकरुणप्रहृदविमर्ष भूवह्मन् मिलमम् । आराध्याखिललोकशोकशमनो कौर्षि समासादिता मेदे जैवपद व्यापयि मङ्गली श्रीसिद्धये श्रीरपि ॥ Then follows one verse in praise of Singhana, and two in praise of Soḍhala in which he is represented to have pleased Singhana by his merits and to have conferred benefits on all through the wealth and influence thus acquired, and then we have

mentary [112] on this work attributed to a king of the name of Singa who is represented as a paramount sovereign of the Andhra circle. This Singa appears in all likelihood to be Singhana, and the commentary was either written by him or dedicated to him by a dependant, as is often the case.³⁴ Chângadeva, the grandson of Bhâskarâchârya and son of Lakshmi-dhara, was chief astrologer to Singhana, and also Anantadeva, the grandson of Bhâskarâchârya's brother Śrîpati and son of Ganapati. Chângadeva founded a Maṭha or college for the study of his grandfather's Siddhântasiromani and other works at Pâṭnâ in the Châlisgamv division of the Khândes district, and Anantadeva built a temple at a village in the same division and dedicated it to Bhavânî on the 1st of Chaitra in the Śaka year 1144 expired.³⁵

Singhana's son was Jaitugi or Jaitrapâla, who "was the abode of all arts, and was thus the very moon in opposition, full of all the digits, that had come down to the earth, to protect it. He was death to hostile kings and firm in unequal fights."³⁶ But if he protected the earth at all he must have done so during the lifetime of his father as *Yuvarâja*, for the latest date of Singhana is Śaka 1169, and in a copper-plate inscription of his grandson and Jaitugi's son Kṛishna, Śaka 1175, *Pramâdi-Samvatsara*, is stated to be the seventh of his reign, so that Kṛishna began

Jaitrapâla,
Singhana's
son, died
before him

तस्यादुग्धानुचेर्जात शार्ङ्गदेव सुधाकर । उपर्युपरि सर्वान्य सदोदार
स्फुरत्करः ॥ Introduction to Samgitaratnâkara, No 979,
Collection of 1887—91, Dekk. Coll. इति श्रीमदनविनीदशोकर-
णाधिपतिश्रीसोदसमन्दनि गङ्गश्रीशार्ङ्गदेवविरचिते संगीतरत्नाकरे प्रकीर्ण-
काध्यायस्तव्य समाप्त fol 122a

³⁴ My Report on MSS for 1882-83, pp 37, 38 and 222

³⁵ Jour R A S, Vol I, N S, p 415, and Epigraphia Indica, Vol III, p 113

³⁶ Appendix C II, st 7

Section XV to reign in Śaka 1169 corresponding to 1247 A D ³⁷
Kṛishna And in the longer of the two historical introductions to the Vratakhanda, Jaitugi is not mentioned at all. After Singhana, we are told that his grandsons Kṛishna and Mahādeva came to the throne, of whom the elder Kṛishna reigned first ³⁸ Kṛishna's Prākṛit name was Kanhāra, Kanhara, or Kandhāra. He is represented to have been the terror of the kings of Mālava, Gujarāt, and Konkan, to have "established the king of 'Teluuga,'" and to have been the sovereign of the country of the Chola king ³⁹ In the Vratakhanda also he is said to have destroyed the army of Viśala, who we know was sovereign of Gujarāt at this time and who had been at war with Singhana, and, in general terms, to have "conquered a great many enemies in bloody battles in which numbers of horses and elephants were engaged, reduced some to captivity and compelled others to seek refuge in forests, and, having thus finished the work of vanquishing the series of earthly kings, to have marched to the heavenly world to conquer Indra" ⁴⁰ Laksh-[113] mīdeva, son of Janārdana, is represented by his wise counsels to have helped Kṛishna to consolidate his power and to have by his sword subdued his enemies ⁴¹ Kṛishna performed a great many sacrifices

³⁷ Jour B B R A S, Vol XII, p 42

³⁸ Appendix C I, st 45

³⁹ Jour B B R A S, Vol XII, p 36

⁴⁰ That is, "left this world," "died," Appendix C II, st 11

⁴¹ Intr Jahl Sukh —

विश्वनाथपरायणः स्फुरद्गुरुमूर्ध्नि चित्तार्थिप्रज-

स्तथाद्गुरविक्रम, समभयच्छीलमिदिवः सुधीः ।

मन्येभिर्जितदेवमस्त्रिधियुक्तेष्वयमयमक्रमे

राज्यं कृष्णमक्षीपतेरयिकर्म दत्वा गिरं योऽव्यथा ॥ ११ ॥

अगस्त्य इव यस्यासिर्वाचिरचित्तिभ्रमभी ।

चिदं सोप्यकरोमृत्त्यक्यन्वसमरार्थयम् ॥ १२ ॥

and thus "brought fresh strength to the Vedic ceremonial religion which in the course of time had lost its hold over the people" In a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 1171, found in the Belgaum Tāluka, Malla or Malliseṭṭi is spoken of as the elder brother of Bicha or Bichana, the viceroy of Singhana in the south, and was himself governor of the province of Kuhunḍ He lived at Mudugala, probably the modern Mudgala, and gave, by the consent of Kṛishna, his sovereign, lands in the village of Bāgevāḍi to thirty-two Brāhmans of different Gotras ⁴² Among the family names of these it is interesting to observe some borne by modern Mahārāshṭra Brāhmans, such as *Paṣavardhana* and *Ghaṣāsa*, prevalent among Chitpāvanas, and *Ghaṣāsa*, *Ghaṣa*, and *Pāṭhaka*, among Desasthas The name *Trivādi* also occurs, but there is no trace of it among Marāṭhī Brāhmans, while it is borne by Brāhmans in Gujarāt and Upper Hindustan In another grant, Chaunḍa the son of Bichana, who succeeded to the office and title of his father, is represented to have personally solicited king Kṛishna at Devagiri to permit him to grant the village mentioned therein ⁴³ Jahlana, son of Lakshmidēva who had succeeded his father, assisted Kṛishna diligently by his counsels in conjunction with his younger brother He was commander of the troops of elephants and as such fought with Krishna's enemies He compiled an anthology of select verses from Sanskrit poets, called *Sūktimuktāvali*, which is

⁴² Jour B B R A S, Vol XIII, p 27 Ind Ant, Vol VII, 304 Kuhunḍi corresponds to a part of the modern Belgaum district

⁴³ Jour B B R A S, Vol XII, p 43

Section XV extant ⁴⁴ The Vedântakalpataru, which is a commentary on Vâchaspatimiśra's Bhâmatî [114] which itself is a commentary on Śamkarâchârya's Vedânta-sûtrabhâṣya, was written by Amalânanda in the reign of Kṛishṇa ⁴⁵

Mahâdeva

Kṛishṇa was succeeded by his brother Mahâdeva in 1182 Śaka or 1260 A D "He was a tempestuous wind that blew away the heap of cotton in the shape of the king of the Tailaṅga country, the prowess of his arm was like a thunderbolt that shattered the mountain in the shape of the pride of the swaggering Gûrjara, he destroyed the king of Konkan with ease, and reduced the arrogant sovereigns of Karnâta and Lâṭa to mockery "⁴⁶ The Gûrjara here mentioned must be Viśaladeva noticed above, as Mahâdeva is represented in the Paithan grant to have vanquished him,⁴⁷ and the king of Karnâta was probably a Hoysala Yâdava of Halebid "King Mahâdeva never killed a woman, a child, or one who submitted to him, knowing this and being greatly afraid of him, the Andhras placed a woman on the throne,

⁴⁴ Intr Jahl Sukt —

सस्यास्ते तनयो नयोदधिविधुर्वन्सुर्धुषानां सुधौः
 सारासारविचारणासु चतुर, शौजद्वयाख्य चितौ ॥ २६ ॥
 सत्यिवा दत्तमस्मै प्रतिदत्तवत्तवद्दृष्टि सर्गोपसर्गं
 राव्यं प्राज्यप्रभावप्रथितगुणभृता कृष्णराजाय भक्त्या ।
 तन्निर्वाह्य मयेति द्विगुणितविषयाशक्तिभक्तिर्विषये
 सर्वं य. स्वाधि (मि) कार्यं दितममयदृता भावुकमानुजेन ॥ २७ ॥
 ध्रुवं यस्यास्ति हस्तार्कं मदान्धा करिवाहिनी ।
 दानीदकप्रवाहीव दृश्यते कथमन्यथा ॥ २८ ॥
 तेनेयं क्रियते वीक्ष्य सत्सुभाषितसग्रहान् ।
 सुक्तिमुक्तावलीकण्डकन्दलीमूषणं सताम् ॥ २९ ॥

⁴⁵ Transactions Ninth Congress of Orientalists, Vol I, P 423

⁴⁶ Appendix C I, st 48, and II, st 13

⁴⁷ Ind Ant, Vol XIV, p 316

and the King of Malava also for the same reason
 installed a child in his position, and forthwith
 returning all his possessions practised false penance
 for a long time. He took away in battle the
 elephants and the five musical instruments of the
 ruler of Tālmānā but left the ruler Rudrama as
 he refrained from killing a woman.⁴³ In a work on
 Poetics called Prataparudra by Vidyānātha there
 occurs a picture of a dramatic play in which
 Gopānā of the Kārtivīrya dynasty, the same prince
 who is mentioned in the Pāṇini grant to have been
 released from confinement by Jātura, is mentioned
 as having left his throne to his daughter, whom,
 however, he called his son and named Rudra, and
 who is spoken of as "a King" and not queen. She
 adopted Prataparudra the son of her daughter, as
 her heir. Thus, therefore, was the woman spoken
 of above as Rudrānī and as having been placed on
 the throne by the Andhras.⁴⁴ "Soma, the lord of
 Konkan, though skilled in swimming in the sea, was
 to enter with his forces drowned in the rivers formed
 by the humour trickling from the temples of
 Mahadeva's maddened elephants." "Mahadeva
 deprived Somavara of his kingdom and his life."⁴⁵
 We have seen that Kṛishna fought with the King of
 Konkan, but it appears he did not subjugate the
 country thoroughly. His successor Mahādeva, how-
 ever, again invaded it with an army consisting of a
 large number of elephants. [115] Soma or

Conquest of
 Northern
 Konkan

⁴³ Appendix C I, st 52, and II, st 11 and 15

⁴⁴ एवमेतत् । अद्या कथमीदृशमादाहते निरुद्धं स्त्रीव्यक्ति-
 विनियमं लोकाधिपत्यम् । एवं मातृपुत्रभूता गणपतिसदाराजैमाभ्यन्तर-
 शासनायस्य मङ्गलमत एव इति व्यवहारः । कृतसद्व्युत्पत्त्या च यद् इत्याद्या ।
 Poona litho, reprinted edition of 1911, fol 29. See also
 Dr Hultzsch's paper, Ind Ant, Vol XXI, pp 198, 199

⁴⁵ Appendix C I, st 49, 50, and II, st 17

Section XV Someśvara was completely defeated on land and his power broken, whereupon he appears to have betaken himself to his ships. There somehow he met with his death,⁵¹ probably by being drowned, for it is said that "even the sea did not protect him" and that "he betook himself to the submarine fire," thinking the fire of Mahâdeva's prowess to be more unbearable.⁵² Konkan was thereupon annexed to the territories of the Yâdavas. Hence it is that the country was governed by a viceroy appointed by the Devagiri king during the time of Mahâdeva's successor, as we find from the Thâna plates published by Mr. Wathen.⁵³ The Somesvara whom Mahâdeva subdued belonged to the Śilâhâra dynasty of Thâna that had been ruling over that part of Konkan for a considerable period. He is the last prince of the dynasty whose inscriptions are found in the district, and his dates are Śaka 1171 and 1182.⁵⁴ Mahâdeva like his predecessors reigned at Devagiri, which is represented as the capital of the dynasty to which he belonged and as situated in the country called Seuna on the borders of Dandakâraṇya. "It was the abode of the essence of the beauty of the three worlds and its houses rivalled the peaks of the mountain tenanted by gods, and the Seuna country deserved all the sweet and ornamental epithets that might be applied to it."⁵⁵ At Pandharpur there is an inscription dated 1192 Śaka, *Pramoda Samvat-sara*, in which Mahâdeva is represented to have

⁵¹ Appendix C I, st. 49

⁵² Ib. I, st. 51, and II, st. 18

⁵³ Jour. R. A. S. (old series), Vol. V, p. 177

⁵⁴ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIII, Part II, p. 122

⁵⁵ Appendix C II, st. 19 and 20. "The mountain tenanted by gods" may be the Himâlaya or Meru. In this epithet there is a reference to the etymology of Devagiri which means "a mountain of or having god."

been reigning at the time He is there called *Praudhapratāpa Chakravartin*, or "Paramount sovereign possessing great valour" The inscription records the performance of an *Aptoryāma* sacrifice by a Brāhman chief of the name of Kesava belonging to the Kasyapa Gotra

The immediate successor of Mahādeva was *Āmana*⁵⁶ who appears to have been his son, but the sovereign power was soon wrested from his hands by the rightful heir Rāmachandra, son of Kṛishṇ, who ascended the throne in 1193 Śaka or 1271 A D He is called Rāmadeva or Rāmarāja also In the Thānā copper-plate grants he is spoken of as "a lion to the proud elephant in the shape of the lord of Mālava," from which it would appear that he was at war with that country He is also called "the elephant that tore up by the root the tree in the shape of the Tailanga king" This must be an allusion to his wars with Pratāparudra the successor of Rudramā, which are mentioned in the work noticed above Several other epithets occur in the grants, but they are given as mere *birudas* or titles which were inherited by Rāmachandra from his predecessors, and do not point to any specific events in his reign His inscriptions are found as far to the south as the confines of Maisur, so that the empire [116] he ruled over was as large as it ever was There is in the Dekkan College Library a manuscript of the Amarakosa written in Konkan on Tāla leaves during his reign in the year 4398 of the Kaliyuga corresponding to Śaka 1219 and A D 1297 His viceroy in Konkan in Śaka 1212 was a Brāhmaṇa named Kṛishna belonging to the Bharadvāja Gotra, whose grandfather Padmanābha first acquired royal

Rāma-
chandra or
Rāmadeva

⁵⁶ Paṭṭhaṇ grant, Ind Ant, Vol XIV, p 317

Section XV favour and rose into importance in the reign of Singhana. One of the Thānā grants was issued by him, and the other dated 1194 Śaka by Achyuta Nāyaka, who was also a Brāhmaṇ and who appears to have been a petty chief and held some office which is not stated. Where he resided is also not clear. By the Paṭhaṇ copper-plate charter, which was issued in Śaka 1193, Rāmachandra assigned three villages to fifty-seven Brāhmaṇs on conditions some of which are rather interesting. The Brāhmaṇs and their descendants were to live in those villages, not to mortgage the land, allow no prostitutes to settle there, prevent gambling, use no weapons, and spend their time in doing good deeds.⁵⁷

Hemādri,
the minister
of Mahā-
deva and
Rāmadeva

Hemādri, the celebrated author, principally of works on Dharmasāstra, flourished during the reigns of Mahādeva and Rāmachandra and was minister to both. In the introduction to his works on Dharma-sāstra he is called Mahādeva's *Śrīkaranādhipa* or *Śrīkaranaprabhu*. In the Thānā copper-plate of 1194 Śaka also, he is said to have taken upon himself the *ādhipatya* or controllership of all *karana*. This office seems to have been that of chief secretary or one who wrote and issued all orders on behalf of his master and kept the state record. Hemādri is also called *Mantrin* or counsellor generally. In his other works and in the Thānā plate Rāmarāja instead of Mahādeva is represented as his master. Mahādeva's genealogy and his own are given at the beginning of his works on Dharma. Sometimes the former begins with Singhana, sometimes with Bhīllama, while in the *Dānakhaṇḍa* the exploits of Mahādeva alone are enumerated. The description of the several princes is often couched in general

terms and consists of nothing but eulogy But the Section XV
Vratakhanda, which was the first work composed
 by Hemâdri, contains, as we have seen, a very
 valuable account of the dynasty from the very begin-
 ning, and by far the greater portion of it is un-
 doubtedly historical

Hemâdri was a Brahman of the Vatsa Gotra Hemâdri's
Works
 His father's name was Kâmadeva, grandfather's,
 Vâsudeva, and great-grandfather's, Vâmana⁵⁸ He
 is described in terms of extravagant praise, and the
 historical truth that may be gleaned from it appears
 to be this Hemâdri was very liberal to Brâhmans
 and fed numbers of them every day He was a
 man of learning himself, and learned men found
 a generous patron in him He is represented to be
 religious and pious, and at the same time very
 brave He evidently possessed a great deal of
 influence Whether the voluminous works attribut-
 ed to him were really written by him may well be
 questioned, but the [117] idea at least of reducing
 the religious practices and observances that had
 descended from times immemorial to a system must
 certainly have been his, and must have been carried
 out under his supervision

His great work is called the *Chaturvarga* Chaturvarga
Chintâmanî
Chintâmanî which is divided into four parts, viz,
 (1) *Vratakhanda*, containing an exposition of the
 religious fasts and observances, (2) *Dânakhanda*, in
 which the several gifts to which great religious
 importance is attached are explained, (3) *Tirtha-*
khanda which treats of pilgrimages to holy places,
 and (4) *Mokshakhanda*, in which the way to final
 deliverance is set forth There is a fifth *Khanda*
 or part which is called *Parisheshakhanda* or appendix,
 which contains voluminous treatises on (1) the duties

⁵⁸ *Parisheshakhanda*, Ed Bib Ind, pp 4-5

Section XV

that should be worshipped, (2) on *Śrāddhas* or offerings to the manes, (3) on the determination of the proper times and seasons for the performance of religious rites, and (4) on *Prāyaścitta* or atonement. All these works are replete with a great deal of information and innumerable quotations. They are held in great estimation, and future writers on the same subjects draw largely from them. A commentary called *Āyurvedarasāyana* on a medical treatise by Vâgbhaṭa and another on Bopadeva's *Muktâphala*, a work expounding Vaishnava doctrines, are also attributed to him.

Other
works

Bopadeva

This Bopadeva was one of Hemâdri's proteges and the author of the work mentioned above and another entitled *Harilîlâ*, which contains an abstract of the *Bhâgavata*. Both of these were written at the request of Hemâdri as the author himself tells us.⁵⁹ Bopadeva was the son of a physician named Kesava and the pupil of Dhaneśa. His father as well as a teacher lived at a place called *Sârtha* situated on the banks of the *Varadâ*. Bopadeva, therefore, was a native of *Berâr*. Bopadeva, the author of a treatise on grammar called *Mugdhabodha*, appears to be the same person as this, since the names of the father and the teacher there mentioned are the same as those we find in these works. A few medical treatises also, written by Bopadeva, have come down to us.

Hemâdpant
of the
Marâṭhâs

Hemâdri has not yet been forgotten in the Marâṭhâ country. He is popularly known by the name of Hemâdpant and old temples throughout the

59 विद्वद्नेत्रशिष्येण भिषक्केशवसूनुना । हेमाद्रिर्वीरपदेवेन मुक्ताफलमचीकरत् ॥
श्रीमद्भागवतस्कन्धाध्यायार्थादि निरूप्यते । विदुषा वोपदेवेन मल्लिहेमाद्रितुष्टये ॥
Dr Rājendralāl's notices of Skt MSS, Vol II, pp 48
and 200

country of a certain structure are attributed to him Section XV
 He is said to have introduced the *moḍī* or the
 current form of writing and is believed to have
 brought it from *Lankâ* or *Ceylon*. As chief secre-
 tary he had to superintend the writing of official
 papers and records, and it is possible he may have
 introduced some improvements in the mode of
 writing

The great *Marāṭhā sādhu* or saint *Jñāneśvara* or *Jñāneśvara*,
Dnyāneśvara as his name is ordinarily pronounced, the *Marāṭhā*
sādhu flourished during the reign of [118] *Rāmachandra*.
 At the end of his *Marāṭhi* commentary on the *Bhaga-*
vadgītā he tells us "In the *Kali* age, in the country
 of *Mahārāshṭra* and on the southern bank of the
Godāvarī, there is a sacred place five *kos* in circuit,
 the holiest in the three worlds, where exists *Mahā-*
layā, who is the thread that sustains the life of the
 world. There, king *Rāmachandra*, a scion of the
Yadu race and the abode of all arts, dispenses
 justice, and there a vernacular garb was prepared for
 the *Gītā* by *Jñānadeva*, the son of *Nivṛttinātha*,
 sprung from the family of *Maheśa*." 60 The date
 of the completion of the work is given as *Śaka* 1212
 or A.D. 1290, when we know *Rāmachandra* was on
 the throne

Rāmachandra was the last of the independent Conquest of
Hindu sovereigns of the *Dekkan*. The *Mussalmans* the country
by the
Mussal-
mans

- 60 ऐसे युगों परि कलौ । आपि महाराष्ट्रमंडलौ ।
 श्रीगोदावरीच्या कूलौ । दक्षिणें ॥ १ ॥
 विस्तृतै कपवित्र । जनादि पंचक्रोशयेत् ।
 जेथ जगार्थें जीवनसूत्र । श्रीमहालया असे ॥ २ ॥
 तेथ यदुवंशविलास । जी सकल कलानिवास ।
 न्यायातें पोषी चितौघ । श्रीरामचंद्र ॥ ३ ॥
 तेथ महेशान्वयसंभूतें । श्रीनिष्ठसिनायसुतें ।
 कलें ज्ञानदेवें गीतें । दिशीकार लेखें ॥ ४ ॥

Section XV had been firmly established at Delhi for about a century, and though they had not yet turned their attention to the Dekkan it was not possible they should refrain from doing so for a long time. Alla-ud-din Khilji, the nephew of the reigning king, who had been appointed governor of Karra, was a person of a bold and adventurous spirit. In the year 1294 A D or Śaka 1216 he collected a small army of 8000 men and marched straight to the south till he reached Ellichpur, and then suddenly turning to the west appeared in a short time before Devagiri. The king never expected such an attack and was consequently unprepared to resist it. According to one account he was even absent from his capital. He hastily collected about 4000 troops, and threw himself between the city and invading army. But being aware he could not hold out for a long time, he took measures for provisioning the fort and retired into it. The city was then taken by the Mahomedans and plundered, and the fort was closely invested. Alla-ud-din had taken care to spread a report that his troops were but the advanced guard of the army of the king which was on its way to the Dekkan. Rāmachandra, therefore, despairing of a successful resistance, began to treat for peace. Alla-ud-din, who was conscious of his own weakness, received his proposals with gladness and agreed to raise the siege and retire on condition of receiving from the king a large quantity of gold. In the meantime, Rāmachandra's son Śamkara collected a large army and was marching to the relief of the fort, when Alla-ud-din left about a thousand men to continue the siege and proceeded [119] with the rest to a short distance from the town and gave battle to Śamkara's forces. The Hindus were numerically superior and forced the Mahomedans to fall back,

THE DEKKAN

207

Section XV

but the detachment left to observe the movements of the garrison joined them at this time, and Samkara's followers thinking it to be the main army that was on its way from Delhi were seized with a panic, and a confusion ensued which resulted in the complete defeat of the Hindus

Râmachandra or Râmadeva then continued the negotiations, but Alla-ud-din raised his demands. The Hindu king's allies were preparing to march to his assistance, but in the meanwhile Râmachandra discovered that the sacks of grain that had been hastily thrown into the fort really contained salt, and since the provisions had been well nigh exhausted he was anxious to hasten the conclusion of peace. It was therefore agreed that he should pay to Alla-ud-din "600 maunds of pearls, two of jewels, 1000 of silver, 4000 pieces of silk, and other precious things," cede Ellchpur and its dependencies, and send an annual tribute to Delhi. On the receipt of the valuable treasure given to him by the Devagiri prince Alla-ud-din retired.

Some time after, Alla-ud-din assassinated his aged uncle and usurped the throne. King Râmachandra did not send the tribute for several years, and to punish him the Delhi monarch despatched an expedition of 30,000 horse under the command of Malik Kafur, a slave who had risen high in his favour. Malik Kafur accomplished the long and difficult march "over stones and hills without drawing rein," and arrived at Devagiri in March 1307 A D., or about end of Saka 1228. A fight ensued in which the Hindus were defeated and Râmadeva was taken prisoner.⁶¹ According to another account, Malik

⁶¹ Elliot's History of India, Vol III, p 77

Section XV Kafur came laying waste the country about Devagiri, and the Hindu king observing the futility of resistance surrendered himself Râmachandra was sent to Delhi, where he was detained for six months and afterwards released with all honour Thenceforward he sent the tribute regularly and remained faithful to the Mahomedans In Śaka 1231 or A D 1309, Malik Kafur was again sent to the Dekkan to subdue Tailaṅgaṇa On the way he stopped at Devagiri, where he was hospitably entertained by the king

Râmadeva died this year and was succeeded by his son Śamkara He discontinued sending the annual tribute to Delhi and Malik Kafur was again sent to the Dekkan in Śaka 1234 or A D 1312 to reduce him to submission He put Śamkara to death, laid waste his kingdom, and fixed his residence at Devagiri

In the latter years of Alla-ud-din his nobles, disgusted with the overwhelming influence which Malik Kafur had acquired over him, revolted In the meantime Alla-ud-din died and was succeeded by his third son Mubarik The opportunity was seized [120] by Harapâla, the son-in-law of Râmachandra, who raised an insurrection and drove away some of the Mahomedan governors In 1240 Śaka or A D 1318 Mubarik marched to the Dekkan in person to suppress the revolt He took Harapâla prisoner and inhumanly flayed him alive

Thus ended the last Hindu or Marâṭhâ monarchy of the Dekkan, and the country became a province of the Mahomedan empire

Genealogy of the later Yādavas or the Yādavas of Devagiri Section XV

Mallugi

1 BHILLAMA

(Śaka 1109-1113 or A D 1187-1191)

2 JAITRAPĀLA or Jaitugi

(Śaka 1113-1132 or A D 1191-1210)

3 SINGHANA

(Śaka 1132-1169 or A D 1210-1247)

Jaitrapāla or Jaitugi

4 KRISHNA, Kanhāra or Kandhāra

(Śaka 1169-1182 or A D 1247-1260)

5 MAHĀDEVA

(Śaka 1182-1193 or A D 1260-1271)

6 RĀMACHANDRA or Rāmadeva

(Śaka 1193-1231 or A D 1271-1309)

Āmapa

7 ŚAMKARA (Śaka 1231-1234 or A D 1309-1312)

Brother-in-law, Harapāla, killed in Śaka 1240 or A D 1318

[121.] SECTION XVI

THE ŚILĀHĀRAS OF KOLHĀPUR

Section XVI

Three
branches
of the
Śilāhāra
family

Tagara,
the original
seat of the
family

Three distinct families of chiefs or minor princes with the name of Śilāra or Śilāhāra ruled over different parts of the country. They all traced their origin to Jimūtavāhana the son of Jimūnūtakeṭu, who was the king of a certain class of demigods¹ called Vidyādharas, and who saved the life of a serpent named Śankhachūḍa by offering himself as a victim to Garuḍa in his place¹. One of the titles borne by the princes of all the three families was *Tagarapuravarādhīśvara* or "lords of Tagara, the best of cities," which fact has a historical significance. We have seen that Kāṁhvadeva, the donor of the Rājāpur grant who was a Chālukya, called himself *Kalyānapuravarādhīśvara*, and one of the titles of the later Kadambas after they had been reduced to vassalage and of the rulers of Goa was *Banavāsīpuravarādhīśvara*. As these titles signify that the bearers of them belonged to the families that once held supreme power at Kalyāṇa and Banavāsī, so does *Tagarapuravarādhīśvara* show that the Śilāhāras who bore the title belonged to a family that once possessed supreme sovereignty and reigned at Tagara. In one Śilāhāra grant it is expressly stated that "the race known by the name of Śilāhāra was that of the kings who were masters of Tagara"². As mentioned in a former section, Tagara was a famous town in the early centuries of the Christian

¹ This story has been dramatized in the Sanskrit play *Nāgānanda* attributed to Śrī-Harsha.

² Grant translated by Dr Taylor and published in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol III
शिलाहाराख्यवशीयं तगरेश्वरसूक्तम् ।

era and retained its importance till a very late period, Section XVI
 but unfortunately the town has not yet been identified, nor have we found any trace of the Śilāhāra
 kingdom with Tavara as its capital. Perhaps it
 existed between the close of the Andhrabhūṭya
 period and the foundation of the Chūlukya power.

The three Śilāhāra dynasties of Mahāmāyādes
 varas or dependant princes which we have been
 considering were founded in the times of the
 Rishabhajayas. One of them ruled over Northern The North
Konkan
branch
 Konkan, which was composed of fourteen hundred
 villages, the chief of them being Puri, which
 probably was at one time the capital of the province.
 As represented in an inscription at Kinheri noticed
 before, Konkan was assigned to Pullasakti by
 Amoghavarsha a few years before Śaka 775. Another
 Śilāhāra family established itself in Southern Konkan The South
Konkan
branch
 The founder or first chief named Sanaphulla enjoy-
 ing the favour of Kṛṣṇarāja acquired the territory
 between the sea coast and the Sahya range.³ There
 were three Rishabhajaya princes of the name of
 Kṛṣṇarāja but the one meant here must be the
 first prince of that name who reigned in the last
 quarter of the seventh century of the Śaka era
 [122] or between 755 and 775 A.D.⁴ The genealogy

³ Kharepatan plates, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I, p. 217.
 The name of the first chief is read "Jhāllaphulla" by Bāl
 Ganpādhara Śāstri, but the first letter looks like ञ though
 there is some difference. That difference, however, brings
 it nearer to ञ. The letter which was read by him as ञ
 is clearly ञ or द्द. I find द्द on the plates.

⁴ From Sanaphulla the first chief to Raṭṭa the last three
 are ten generations. Somehow each succeeding chief in
 this line happens to be the son of the preceding. Though
 in a line of princes some of whom bear to others the relation
 of brother or uncle, the average duration of each reign is

Section XVI of this dynasty is given in the Khârepâṭaṇ grant, the last prince mentioned in which was on the throne in Śaka 930 while the Châlukya king Satyâśraya was reigning. The capital must have been situated somewhere near Khârepâṭaṇ.

The
Kolhâpur
branch

The third Śilâhâra family the history of which falls within the scope of this paper ruled over the districts of Kolhâpur, Miraj, and Karhâḍ, and in later times Southern Konkan was added to its territory. This dynasty was the latest of the three and was founded about the time of the downfall of the Râshtrakûṭa empire, as will be hereafter shown. The first prince of the family was Jatiga, who was succeeded by his son Nâyimma or Nâyivarman.

from 19 to 21 years, the average duration of a generation is always much longer, and varies from 26 to 28 years. One can verify this by taking any line of princes or chiefs in the world. Raṭṭa was on the throne in Śaka 930, and supposing him to have begun to reign about that time, nine generations or about 27×9 years must have passed away from the date of the foundation of the family to Śaka 930. Subtracting $27 \times 9 = 243$ from 930, we have Śaka 687 as the approximate date of Śanaphulla. If we take the average to be 26, we shall have 696 as the date. In either case we are brought to the reign of Kṛishṇa I. The dates of Kṛishṇa II range from Śaka 797 to 833 and of Kṛishṇa III from Śaka 862 to 881, and therefore neither of these will do. Even if we take the other average of a reign in the present case and subtract $19 \times 9 = 171$ from 930, we get Śaka 759, which will not take us to the reign of Kṛishṇa II whose earliest date is Śaka 797. The Khârepâṭaṇ family therefore was the oldest of the three, and was founded in the reign of Kṛishṇa I.

Bâl Śâstrî read the name of the last chief in the grant as Rahu, but the second syllable of the name is certainly not ॠ the form of which in the grant itself is different. It looks exactly like the ॠ in the word परमेश्वरक and ब्राह्मणानि which occur elsewhere in the grant.

Nāyamma was followed by his son Chandrarāja, and Section XVI Chandrarāja by his son Jatiga, who is called "the ^{Jatiga, the} lion of the hill-fortress of Panhâlâ" ^{founder} ⁶ Jatiga's son and successor was Gomka, otherwise called Gomkala or Gokalla. He is represented to have been the ruler of the districts of Karahâṭa-Kuṇḍi⁶ and Mairiṇḍa and to have harassed Konkan. He had three brothers named Gūvala, Kīrtirāja, and Chandrāditya, of whom the first at least appears to have succeeded him. Then followed Mārasimha the son of Gomka, whose grant first published by Wathen is dated Śaka 980. He is represented to have constructed temples, and to have been reigning at his capital, the fort of Khilgīḷi, which probably was another name of Panhâlâ in the Kolhâpur districts. Mārasimha was succeeded by his son Gūvala and he by his brother Bhoja I. Bhoja's two brothers Ballâḷa and Gaṇḍarāditya governed the principality after him in succession.

An inscription at Kolhâpur mentions another brother named Gangadeva and the order in which the brothers are spoken of is Gūvala [123] Ganga, Ballâḷa, Bhoja, and Gaṇḍarāditya⁷. But the grants of Gaṇḍarāditya and Bhoja II agree in representing Bhoja as the elder and Ballâḷa as the younger brother, and in omitting Gaṅga.

Of all these brothers the youngest Gaṇḍarāditya ^{Gaṇḍarâ-} seems to have been the most famous. He is the ^{ditya}

⁶ See the grant of Gaṇḍarāditya published by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī in Jour B B R A S, Vol XIII, p 2, of Mārasimha in Jour R A S, Vol IV, p 280, and Arch Surv W I, No 10, p 102, and of Bhoja II in Trans Lit Soc Bom, Vol III.

⁶ Mārasimha's grant. Kuṇḍi or Kuhuṇḍi was some part of the Belgaum district, as stated before. Mairiṇḍa is Miraj.

⁷ Inscription No 4, Major Graham's Report.

Section XVI donor, as indicated above, in the grant published by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī,⁸ and in others recorded on stone at Kolhâpur and in the districts. His dates are Śaka 1032, 1040, 1058⁹. He ruled over the country of Mīrājā along with the seven Khollas and over Konkan, which thus seems to have been subjugated by the Kolhâpur Śilâhâras before 1032. Probably it was added to their dominions in the time of Gomka or soon after. From the grant of Bhoja II it appears that the part of Konkan ruled over by the Dekkan Śilâhâras was the same as that which was in the possession of the family mentioned in the Khârepâṭaṇ grant,¹⁰ wherefore it follows that the Śilâhâras of southern Konkan were uprooted by their kinsmen of the Kolhâpur districts. Gaṇḍarâḍitya fed a hundred thousand Brâhmanas at Prayâga. This must be the place of that name which is situated near Kolhâpur, and not the modern Allahâbâd. He built a Jaina temple at Âjarem, a village in the Kolhâpur districts,¹¹ and constructed a large tank, called after him *Gandasamudra* or "the sea of Gaṇḍa," at Irukudī in the Mīraj district, and on its margin placed idols of Īśvara or Śiva, Buddha, and Arhat (Jina), for the maintenance of each of which he assigned a piece of land. Several other charities of his, in which the Jainas also had their share, are mentioned, and his bountiful nature as well as good

⁸ In *loc cit*

⁹ Bhagvānlāl's plates, and Inscriptions Nos 1, 2, and 3, Major Graham's Report. The Śaka in Bhagvānlāl's grant and No 1 of Major Graham's inscriptions is the same, 1032, though in the translation of the latter it is erroneously given as 1037, but the cyclic years are different. As to this see Appendix B.

¹⁰ For the village granted is Kaśelj, which is near Jaitâpur and Khârepâṭaṇ.

¹¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 76, note.

ard just government are extolled ¹² He first resided Section XVI
at a place called Tiravāḍa and afterwards at Vala-
vāḍa, which has been identified with the present
Valavdem¹³

Gaṇḍarāditya was succeeded by his son Vijayārka
Vijayārka, who was on the throne in Śaka 1065 and
1073 ¹⁴ He restored the chiefs of the territory about
Thimī to their principality which they had lost, and
replaced the princes of Goṛa on the throne and forti-
fied their position which had become shaky ¹⁵ He
assisted Vijjana¹⁶ in his revolt against his masters,
the Chūlulvas of Kalyāṇa, and enabled him to
acquire supreme sovereignty This event, as we
have seen, took place about 1079 Śaka

[124] After Vijayārka, his son Bhoja II Bhoja II
became Mahīmāndalesvara and reigned in the fort
of Pāṇhājī His dates are Śaka 1101, 1100, 1112,
1113, 1114, and 1127 ¹⁷ He granted the village of
Kaseḷi in Konkān near Khīrepāṇ on the applica-
tion of his son Gaṇḍarāditya for feeding Brāhmanas
regularly, ¹⁸ and gave lands for Hindu and Jaina

¹² His grant in *loc cit*

¹³ Bhagvanth's plates and Major Graham's Ins No 2

¹⁴ Ins Nos 3 and 5, Major Graham's Report

¹⁵ Grant of Bhoja II in *loc cit*

¹⁶ In the transcript of the inscription in Vol IV Trans
Lit Soc Bom we have Vīkshana for Vijjana There is no
question this must be a mistake of the reader of the inscrip-
tion or of the engraver For the Kalachuri usurper at
Kalyāṇa is called both Vijjala or Vijjana in his inscriptions,
and there was none who about the date of Vijayārka
obtained the position of a Chakravartin or paramount
sovereign, as stated in the inscription

¹⁷ Major Graham's Ins Nos 6, 7, 8, the grant, and Ind
Ant, Vol X, p 76, note

¹⁸ There are, however, some mistakes here in the trans-
cript of the grant and the sense is not clear, though it
appears pretty certain that it was the village that was
granted and not a field in it or anything else, from the fact
that the boundaries of the village are given

Section XVI temples in other places also Two of the grantees in one case at Kolhâpur are called Karahâṭakas, which shows that the caste of Karhâḍe Brâhman had come to be recognised in those days, and two others bore the family name of Ghaisâsa, which is now found among Chitpâvan Brâhman¹⁹ In the reign of Bhoja II a Jaina Pandit of the name of Somadeva composed in Śaka 1127 a commentary entitled *Śabdârnnavachandrilâ*²⁰ on Pûjyapâda's Sanskrit Grammar The Kolhâpur chiefs enjoyed a sort of semi-independence Vijjana, the new sovereign at Kalyâna, however, endeavoured probably to establish his authority over Bhoja But that chief was not content to be his feudatory, and to reduce him to subjection Vijjana marched against Kolhâpur a little before his assassination in Śaka 1089²¹ On the establishment of the power of the Devagiri Yâdavas, Bhoja seems similarly to have assumed independence, but Siughana subdued him completely, and annexed the principality to the Yâdava empire²²

Approximate
date of the
foundation
of the
Kolhâpur
branch

The number of generations from Jatiga, the founder of the dynasty, to Gaṇḍarâditya is seven The latest date of the latter is Śaka 1058 and the earliest of his successor Vijayârka is 1065, so that, if we suppose Gaṇḍarâditya to have died in 1060 and allow about 27 years to each generation, we shall arrive at Śaka 871 as the approximate date of the foundation of the family At that time the reigning Râshṭrakûṭa sovereign was Kṛishna III, the uncle of Kakkala the last prince

One of the many titles used by the Śilâhâras was

¹⁹ Ins No 8, Major Graham's Report

²⁰ Ind Ant, Vol X, p 76, note The manuscript here mentioned is in the Dekkan College library and I have seen in it the colophon given in the note

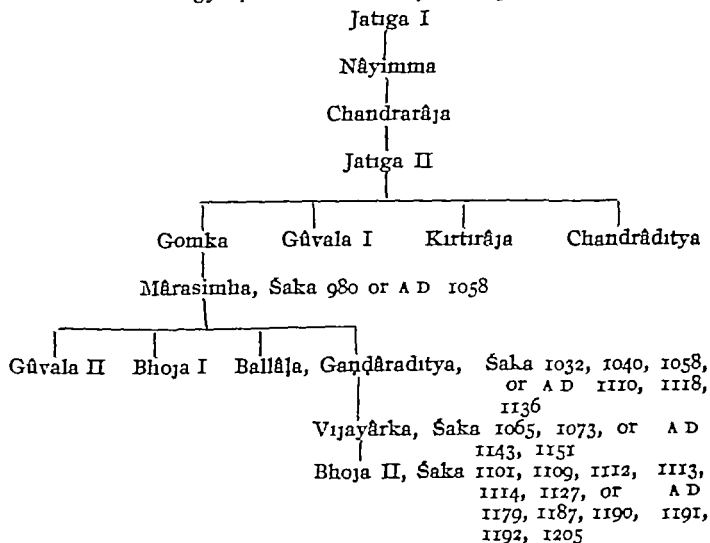
²¹ Vijalarâya Charitra in Wilson's Mackenzie MSS
p 320

²² Sec XV

Śrīman-Mahālakṣmī-labdha-vara-prasāda, i.e. "one who has obtained the favour of a boon from the glorious Mahālakṣmī" Mahālakṣmī was thus their tutelary deity, and they were clearly the followers of the Purāṇic and Vedic religion, but they patronized both Brāhmaṇs and Jainas alike, and their impartiality is strikingly displayed by the fact noticed above of Gaṇḍarāditya's having placed an idol of Buddha, whose religion had well nigh become extinct, along with those of the gods worshipped by the other two sects, on the margin of the tank dug by him

There are at the present day many Marāṭhā families of the name of Selāra reduced to poverty, and the name Selāravāḍi of a station [126] on the railway from Khanḍālā to Poona is also, I believe, to be traced to the family name of the sovereigns of Tagara

Genealogy of the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur



[126] APPENDIX A

Note on the Gupta Era

Appendix A

In order to render the chronologies of the different dynasties that ruled over western and northern India in the early centuries of the Christian era mutually consistent, it is necessary to discuss the initial date of the Gupta era. Albiruni, who accompanied Mahmud of Ghizni in his invasion of Gujarât in the early part of the eleventh century, states that that era was posterior to the Śaka by 241 years, and that it was the epoch of the extermination of the Guptas. He mentions another era named after Balaba, the initial date of which was the same as that of the Guptas.

Now in some of the inscriptions of the Gupta kings and their dependent chiefs the dates are referred to *Guptakâla* or the Gupta era, wherefore Albiruni's statement that it was the epoch of their extermination cannot be true. This error is regarded as throwing discredit on his other statement, viz., that the era was posterior to the Śaka by 241 years. But it has nothing whatever to do with it. Albiruni must have derived his knowledge of the initial date from contemporary evidence, since the era of the Guptas was, as stated by him, one of those ordinarily used in the country in his time, and as his statements regarding the initial dates of the Vikrama and the Śaka eras are true, so must that with reference to the Gupta era be true. On the other hand, his information as regards the event which the Gupta era memorialized must have been based upon the tradition current among the Hindu astronomers of the day, who were his informants. Such traditions are often erroneous, as has been proved in many a case.

Albiruni was also informed that the Śaka era was the epoch of the defeat of the Śaka king by Vikramāditya. This was the tradition as to its origin among Indian astronomers, though it has now given place to another. For Soḍhala in his commentary on Bhāskarāchārya's *Karṇakutūhala*, a manuscript of which more than four hundred years old exists in the collection made by me for Government during 1882-83, tells us that "the epoch when Vikramāditya killed Mlechchhas of the name of Śakas is ordinarily known as the Śaka era." But we know that in Mangaliśa's inscription at Bādāmī it is spoken of as the era of the "coronation of the Śaka king", that Ravikīrti in the inscription at Aihole describes it as the era of the Śaka kings and that it is similarly represented in many other places. Albiruni's error therefore as regards the origin of the Gupta era no more invalidates his statement as to its initial date than his error about the origin of the Śaka era does his statement about the initial date of that era. The only reasonable course for us under the circumstances is to reject the statement as to the era being an epoch of the extermination of the Guptas and accept that about the initial date of the era. But some antiquarians reject both these statements and accept what simply hangs on them and what must fall with them, *viz*, that the Guptas were exterminated in Śaka 242, and make elaborate endeavours to find an earlier initial date for the era. If the inscriptions show that the era was not posthumous but contemporaneous, we should rather believe that the Guptas rose to power in Śaka 242, assigning its due value to the statement of Albiruni, which must have been based on contemporary evidence, that the era began in that year. But if instead of that we declare that they cease to reign in Śaka 242, we in

Appendix A effect reject contemporary evidence and accept a mere tradition which in so far as it represents the era to be posthumous has been proved to be erroneous

Again, Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta era and of the Valabhî era was the same seems to some not "at all probable." To [127] my mind the improbability is not so great as to render valueless what clearly is contemporary evidence. We all know that the date occurring in a grant of one of the sons of the founder of the dynasty is 207, and we have a large number of grants of subsequent kings with dates posterior to this and in harmony with it. So that it is clear that these dates cannot refer to an era dating from the foundation of the dynasty. Such a long time as 207 years cannot be considered to have elapsed between the father who founded the dynasty and his son, even supposing him to have been a posthumous son. The dates, therefore, are understood to refer to the Gupta era. What, then, could have been the Valabhî era, if it was never used by the Valabhî princes during the 275 years or thereabouts of the existence of their dynasty? An era cannot receive the name of a certain line of princes unless used by those princes, at least on a few occasions, and enforced. The era used by the Valabhî princes must be the Valabhî era. One certainly would expect that it should be so. The only supposition, therefore, on which the whole becomes intelligible is that the era introduced by the Valabhis in Surâshtra and used by them was called the Valabhî era by their subjects, and not one dating from the foundation of the dynasty, for such a one, we see, was not used by the Valabhî princes themselves. The era introduced and used by the Valabhis was

that of the Guptas, whose dependents they were in the beginning, and hence Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta and Valabhî eras was the same is true. From an inscription at Somanâth discovered by Colonel Tod, we gather that Śaka 242 was the first year of the Valabhî era. Hence, therefore, the initial date of the Gupta era was 242 Śaka, as stated by Albiruni.

The question in this way is, I think, plain enough. Still since astronomical calculations have been resorted to to prove the incorrectness of the date given by Albiruni and to arrive at an earlier one so as to place the extinction of the Gupta dynasty in Śaka 242, it is necessary to go into the question further. The following tests may be used and have been used to determine the correctness of a proposed initial date —

- 1 The date of Budha Gupta's pillar inscription at Eran, which is Thursday, the 12th of Āshâḍha, in the Gupta year 165
- 2 Râjâ Hastin's inscription dated 156 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter being Mahāvaiśāka
- 3 Râjâ Hastin's inscription dated 173 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahāśvayuja
- 4 Râjâ Hastin's inscription dated 191 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahāchaitra
- 5 Râjâ Samkshobha's inscription dated 209 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahāśvayuja
- 6 An eclipse of the sun mentioned in the Morvi copper-plate grant dated 5th Phālguna Sudi 585 of the Gupta era

Before applying these tests to the initial date given by Albiruni, it must be premised that according to the Arabic author the Gupta era was 241

Appendix A years posterior to the Śaka To convert a Śaka date into a Valabhī date, or which is the same thing, into a Gupta date, he tells us to deduct from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5, that is, 241 And proceeding to give actual instances, he says 953 Śaka corresponds to 712 Valabhī or Gupta We have thus to add 241 to a Gupta date to arrive at the corresponding Śaka date Again, as I shall show in Appendix B, in inscriptions the numerical date indicates, in a large number of instances, the number of years of an era that have elapsed, that is, the *past* year and in about a third of the instances, the *current* year The year of the cycle, however, whenever it occurs, is as a rule the current year, though in rare cases that also is the past year If, therefore, a past Gupta year is to be converted into [128] the current Śaka year, we shall have to add 242 to the former, while if both are current or both past, the difference between them is only 241

Now, as to the first of the above tests, Gupta $165 + 241 = 406$ Śaka If Albiruni is correct, the 12th Āshāḍha Sudi of this year should be a Thursday I asked my friend Professor Keru Lakshman Chhatre to make the calculation for me, and he tells me that it *was* a Thursday Since our astronomical methods are based on the past Śaka year, and even our present Śaka year 1805 really represents, as I shall show in the next Appendix, the years that have elapsed, the current year being really 1806, Gupta 165 was a past year, as well as Śaka 406 Hence only 241 has to be added Śaka 406 corresponds to 484 A D General Cunningham takes the Gupta 165 to correspond to 483 A D, adding $240 + 78 = 318$ to it, and of course arrives at the result that "the 12th day of Āshāḍha Sudi was a Friday instead of a Thursday" If, however, he had added

Appendix A current year led sometimes the *past* year to be mistaken for the *current* year, just as we *now* mistake the year 1805 Śaka for the current year, though it really is the completed or past year. Thus the completed year 157 must, in the case before us, have come to be mistaken by the writer of the inscription for the current year, and he thought 156 to be the past year and thus gave that instead of 157. Now $157 \text{ Gupta} + 242 + 78 = 477 \text{ A D}$, which is *Mahāvaiśākha*, according to the tables *

[129] The eclipse mentioned in the Morvi plate occurred, according to my friend Professor Keru Lakshman, on the 30th of *Vaiśākha*, Śaka 827. The Gupta year given in the plate is 585. If 827 is in the astronomical calculation the *current* year, it must correspond to 585 Gupta *past*, for $585 + 242 = 827$. It is by no means necessary to suppose that the eclipse occurred on the new-moon day immediately previous to the 5th of *Phālguna Sudi* mentioned in the grant. For it is perfectly possible that the actual religious ceremony with reference to the grant was made in *Vaiśākha* and the deed executed in *Phālguna* †

* Though by using General Cunningham's table, I arrive at the desired result in three cases, still I now find that his current Christian year is derived by adding 78 to the past Śaka, while I have added 79, *i e*, the cyclic year given in the dates is true not of the Gupta year in the date as a past year but of the Gupta year + 1 as a past year. And the third date 173 Gupta is a correction of General Cunningham's, the actual date in the inscription being 163. I have, however, allowed the paragraphs to remain, as I am by no means quite satisfied that the question of these cyclic dates is settled beyond dispute (1894).

† There was an eclipse also in Śaka 826 the new-moon day of *Kārttika*, so that Gupta 585 *past* + 241 = 826 Śaka. This is evidently the eclipse mentioned in the grant and not that mentioned in the text. On the whole question

I have thus shown that Albirum's initial date for the Gupta era stands all these tests. It may even be said that it stands them better than 167 A D and 100 A D proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Chie. Bayley respectively. But I am loath to decide such questions simply on astronomical grounds, for there are several very confusing elements involved, and a modern astronomer cannot know them all and make allowance for them.

It now remains to notice the last point relied on by the opponents of Albirum. The date on a copper plate grant by the last Śilāditya of Valabhī hitherto known is 447. This Śilāditya is also styled Dhruvabhāṭa in the grant and has been identified with the Tu lu va po-tou or Dhruvabhāṭa of Hwan Tshang who visited Valabhī in 630 A D. The date 447 is understood as referring to the Gupta era, and, 319 being added to it, corresponds to 766 A D. It has therefore been argued that an earlier initial date must be assigned to the Gupta era so as to bring this Śilāditya or Dhruvabhāṭa nearer to the date of Hwan Tshang's visit. But the identification of the last Śilāditya with Hwan Tshang's Dhruvabhāṭa cannot stand. In the Si-yu-ki the Chinese writer does not speak of a king but of kings, and says they were nephews of Śilāditya of Mālvi and the younger of them named Dhruvabhāṭa was son-in-law to the son of Harshavardhana. If they were nephews of the king of Mālvi they were brothers and both of them kings. Now, the predecessor of the last Śilāditya of Valabhī was his father, and among the kings of Valabhī we do not find brothers reigning in succession at this period. There were two brothers who occupied the throne before this period, one of them

see my paper on the epoch of the Gupta era, Jour B B R A S, Vol XXVII, p 80

Appendix A being named Dharasena and the other Dhruvasena
 — They were the sons of Kharagraha, and the younger of them was the father and predecessor of Dharasena IV. This younger brother or Dhruvasena must have been Hwan Thsang's Dhruvabhāṭa. Nothing important is involved in the suffix *Bhāṭa*. It was a mere title or honorific termination as Pant and Rāv are among us the Marāṭhās. Sena, Simha, and Bhāṭa were the Valabhī honorific endings and they could be used promiscuously. The king spoken of in the plates as Dhruvasena may have been called Dhruvabhāṭa by ordinary people, from whom Hwan Thsang must have got the name. Now, a copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena bears the date 310, and the earliest date of his successor Dharasena IV is 326. The first corresponds to 629 A.D. ($310 + 241 + 78 = 629$), and the second to 645 ($326 + 241 + 78 = 645$). It is quite possible, therefore, that Dhruvasena was on the throne in 640 A.D. at the time when Hwan Thsang visited Valabhī.

[130] The initial date mentioned by Albiruni is thus consistent with everything with which it has been thought to be not consistent. I have shown that the statement of the Arabic writer is in itself entitled to our confidence, being based, as it must have been, on contemporary evidence, as his statements about the Śaka and Vikrama eras were. I will now show that the date mentioned by him is alone consistent with the information we possess as regards the relations of the several dynasties that ruled over Gujarāt and Kāṭhīāwāḍ in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the dates proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Chve Bayley are not. We know that the Guptas succeeded the Satraps, and the Valabhīs were at first dependents of the Guptas and afterwards attained independence.

Chandragupta II must have been the Gupta prince who overthrew the Satraps, since he is the first prince of that dynasty whose silver coins are a close imitation of those of the Satraps. The latest date of that monarch is 33. This corresponds to 260 A.D. and 283 A.D. on the supposition that the Gupta era took its start in 167 A.D. and 190 A.D. respectively. Now, the latest date of the Satrap dynasty is 304. If the era to which it refers is the Śaka, it corresponds to 382 A.D., that is, we shall have to suppose one of the princes of the dynasty to have reigned about a hundred years after the dynasty had been put an end to by Chandragupta II. The Śaka era will therefore not do. Supposing the Satrap dates refer to the Vikrama era, 304 corresponds to 48 A.D., which of course is consistent with Chandragupta's date 260 A.D. or 283 A.D. If then the Satrap dates refer to the era of Vikrama, Rudradaman's 72 must correspond to 16 A.D. Rudradaman's grandfather Chashana will have to be placed about B.C. 4. But Ptolemy, writing after 150 A.D., tells us that Ujjaini was ruled over about the time when he wrote by Tiastenes, who has been very reasonably identified with Chashana. Ptolemy's information cannot certainly be 150 years old. It has, however, been argued that Ptolemy does not state that Tiastenes reigned about the time when he lived, and that he and Siro Polemios were contemporaries. For, he gives the information in the form of two short notes, "Ozone, the royal residence of Tiastenes," and "Baithana, the royal residence of Siro Polemios." Such notes it is possible that one should write even if the princes reigned several hundred years before him, as a modern geographer may mention Berlin as "the capital of Frederick the Great," or Ghizni as "the capital of Mahmud." As to this I have to observe

Appendix A that the analogy does not hold good. A modern geographer and his readers are very well acquainted with past history, while neither Ptolemy nor those for whom he wrote could have known the past history of India. A modern geographer knows which of the princes that ruled over a certain country in past times was the ablest or most powerful, and selects him out of a number and mentions his name in connection with a certain place. It is extremely improbable or almost impossible that Ptolemy should have known many Indian princes who reigned before he lived, along with their achievements, and should have chosen the ablest of them for being mentioned. And, as a matter of fact, we know that one at least of the rulers mentioned by him could be a person of no importance. For Baleocuros who according to him held power in Hippocura was, as we have seen, but a Viceroy or dependent of Puṣumāyi and Gotamīputra Yajña Śrī, since as Viṣivāyakura his name occurs along with those of the two princes on the Kolhāpur coins. Again, Ptolemy must have derived his information from merchants carrying on trade with India and these from the natives of the country. And we know that natives of India care very little for past history and [131] soon forget their kings. Hence the information derived by the merchants cannot have reference to princes who reigned long before the time of Ptolemy. It is possible that Indians may remember a celebrated prince for a century or two. But, as stated above, one of the rulers mentioned by Ptolemy was but a dependent sovereign and could not have been a man of note. The only other supposition that our opponents may resort to, is that Ptolemy's statements were based on those of previous geographers whose contemporaries the princes mentioned by him

were No ground whatever has however been adduced in support of such a supposition In the Periplus which was written before Ptolemy, Parthana and Ozene are mentioned, but Polemios and Triastenes are not On the contrary, the author of that work says that Ozene was "formerly the capital wherein the king resided" If Triastenes lived before him, and Ptolemy's mention of the former was due to his having been a prince of note like Frederick the Great and Mahmud of Ghizni in modern times, we should expect the author of the Periplus to have noticed him especially when he does allude to the kings of Ozene Triastenes, Polemios and Balocucros must thus have reigned about the time of Ptolemy The last two were, we know, contemporaries, and so also must the third have been

In this manner the Vikrama era will not do for the Satrap dates Besides, no trace whatever has hitherto been discovered of the use of that era in the early centuries of Christ Since, then, the use of no other era at the time has been well authenticated, the Satraps must be supposed to have employed the Śaka era The circumstances of the country at that period render, as I have shown, the establishment of this era by the Śakas who ruled over the country in every way probable The latest Satrap date will thus correspond to 382 A D, and Chandragupta, the conqueror of the Satraps, can be rendered posterior to this only by taking 242 Śaka *current* or 319-320 A D as the first *current* year of the Gupta era, for his 93 *past* will then correspond to 412-413 A D And in this way Rudradāman's 72 will correspond to 150 A D, and Chashāna's date will be about 130 A D, i.e. anterior to the date of Ptolemy's geography by about 25 years

Appendix A Thus, then, the evidence in favour of Albiruni's initial date for the Gupta era appears to me to be simply overwhelming

[132] APPENDIX B

*Note on the Śaka dates and the years of the
Bārhaṣpatya cycle occurring in the Inscriptions*

There are certain difficulties with reference to Appendix B the Śaka dates and the cyclic years or *Samvatsaras* occurring in the inscriptions which require to be cleared up. The current Śaka year (A D 1883-84) in the Bombay Presidency is 1805, and the year of the sixty years' cycle, *Subhanu*. In the southern provinces and the Madras Presidency the current Śaka year is 1806, the cyclic year being the same. The first question, then, is, "Do the dates in the inscriptions conform to the Bombay reckoning or the Madras reckoning?" and the next, "What is the cause of this difference of a year?"* We have also to consider whether the Śaka dates in the inscriptions represent the number of years *that have expired* before the event recorded in them or the *current* year in which the event took place.

* It will be obvious to any careful reader that the manner in which the question here proposed for solution is stated, is based upon the ordinary view that Śaka 1805 was the current year in 1883-84. I have no right to assume in the beginning of my inquiry that the ordinary view is mistaken, and it would be unscientific to do so. But having stated the question in that manner, I come at the end of my inquiry to the conclusion that the ordinary view is incorrect, and that 1805 Śaka was not *current* in 1883-84 A D but *past* and that the Madras way of understanding the matter alone is correct. In the previous note also I have stated that "we *now* mistake the year 1805 Śaka for the *current* year" (in 1883-84) so that there is no possibility whatever of any body's misunderstanding my meaning.

Appendix B

Mr Robert Sewell of the Madras Civil Service gives in the first column of the Chronological Tables compiled by him the number of the Śaka years that have expired before the beginning of the cyclic year set against it in the same line in the third column. The current Śaka year corresponding to that cyclic year is the one given in the next line in the first column. Thus against Śaka 855, the date of the Sâṅgalî grant of Govind IV of the Râshtrakûṭa dynasty, we have in the third column the cyclic year *Vijaya* which shows that 855 years of the Śaka era *had expired* before the *Vijaya* year began, while the *current* Śaka year corresponding to *Vijaya* was that given in the next line, viz 856. Mr Sewell follows the Madras reckoning. If we interpret the tables according to the Bombay mode, the Śaka year appearing in the first column will be the current year corresponding to the cyclic year in the same line in the third column, while the number in the line immediately above will represent the years that have expired before the beginning of that cyclic year. Thus against 1805, the current Śaka year on this side of the country, we have in the third column the current cyclic year *Subhānu*, while 1804 in the line above shows the number of years that have expired. By comparing the Śaka dates and cyclic years occurring in the inscriptions with those in the tables we shall be able to determine the points raised above.

In the analysis of Pāli, Sanskrit, and old Kânarese inscriptions published by Dr Fleet and Dr Burgess there are 97 cases in which the Śaka date as well as the cyclic year are distinctly given. On comparing these with the tables I observe that in 58 out of these the given Śaka date occurs in the same line with the cyclic year mentioned in the inscription. These are —

[133] Nos 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 35, Appendix B
 36, 37, 38, 52, 70, 87, 88, 90, 92, 98, 99, 101, 102,
 100, 114, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 134, 136,
 141, 148, 149, 150, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160,
 161, 183, 180, 201, 214, 215, 219, 220, 230 (first part),
 240, 241, 243, 283, 286

Thus in inscription No 20, the date given is 1200, and the cyclic year the *Bahudhānya*, both of which occur in the same line set against each other in the tables

In 28 cases the Śaka date given in the inscription occurs in the tables in the line below that in which the given cyclic year occurs. These are —

Nos 10, 22, 26, 33, 34, 47, 72, 80, 91, 95, 96 (first part), 96 (second part), 100, 110, 111, 112, 118 (first part), 118 (second part), 146, 151, 104, 227, 230 (second part), 231, 234, 236, 237, 281

In No 10, for instance, the Śaka date is 1184 and the cyclic year *Durmata*. In the tables, *Durmata* occurs in the upper line set against 1183, and 1184 is in the line below, and *Dundubhi* is the year marked against it

Now on the supposition that the inscriptions conform to the Madras reckoning, in the first 58 cases the Śaka date represents the number of Śaka years that *had expired* before the current cyclic year of the inscription and in 28 it shows the *current* year of that era. If we suppose the Bombay reckoning to have been in use, the dates in the first 58 cases will represent the current year and those in the next 28, the *future* year and not the *past*. But since it is almost absurd to suppose that the immediately next year should be stated in the inscriptions, it follows that the Madras mode of reckoning was the one in use. The objection, however, may be obviated by supposing that these 28 cases conform

Appendix B to the Madras reckoning and give the current year, while the first 58 follow the Bombay mode. But this supposition is not reasonable or probable, since these groups are not confined to particular provinces, and often one of the former exists in the same district or even place with one of the latter. We thus see that though in the majority of cases the inscriptions give the *past* Saka year, there is a large number in which the *current* year is given and not the *past*.

I have also compared other dates with the tables, and the result I give below —

	Saka date	Cyclic year	What the Saka date represents
Kannarese grant of Govinda III Rishyabhatta	726	Subhanu	Current year
Radhāpur grant of Govinda III	730	Sarajit	Do
Krishna II or Alala varsha completion of the Jaina Purana	820	Pungala	Do
Do, in a Jaina temple by Chikarva	821	Dundubhi	Year elapsed
Govinda IV, Singali grant	855	Vijaya	Do
Kakkala Earda grant	894	Angiras	Do
Tailapa's accession	895	Srimulha	Do
Satyakava Kharepatan plates of Ratta	930	Kilika	Do
Jayasimha Jagadehamalla, Miraj grant	946	Raktaksha	Do
Mahasimha Silahara of Kolhapur, grant	980	Vilambin	Do
Gandharaditya Silahara of Kolhapur, Ins.	1032	Vidpati	Do
Gandharaditya Silahara grant translated by Pandit Bhavabali	1032	Virodhin	Current year
Do Kolhapur Ins. No. 2	1040	Vilambin	Year elapsed
Vijayaditya do do No. 4	1050	Dundubhi	Current year
Someshvara III Phulo-Jamalia Alala's Chintamani	1050	Sarajit	Year elapsed

	Śaka date	Cyclic year	What the Śaka date represents
Bhojadeva II, Kolhâpur Ins No 6	1101	Vilambin	Current year
Bhojadeva II, Kolhâpur Ins No 8	1112	Sâdhârâṇa	Years elapsed
Bhojadeva II, Dr Taylor's grant	1113	Virodhin	Do
Bhojadeva II, Kolhâpur Ins No 8	1114	Paridhâvin	Do
Singhana Yâdava, Khedrâpur Ins	1136	Śrîmukha	Current year
Kâmvadeva Châlukya	1182	Raudra	Years elapsed
Mahâdeva Yâdava, Paṇḍharpur Ins	1192	Pramoda	Do
Râmachandra Yâdava, Thâṇâ	1194	Angiras	Do
Râmachandra Yâdava, Thâṇâ	1212	Virodhin	Current year

Out of these 24 dates, eight give the current year and the rest the years that had expired, the proportion being the same as in the other case, viz 1 to 2. In all cases in which the cyclic year is given it is possible to determine whether the date represents the current or past year, but not in others. The inscriptions of the early Châlukyas do not give it, and hence the exact date remains doubtful.

Now the Bombay mode of reckoning, which is one year behind that prevalent in Madras, is, I believe, due to a mistake. We have seen it was more usual in recording a date to mark the years that had expired than the current year. A word expressive of that sense such as *gateshu*, "having elapsed," was used after the number, and another such as *pravartamâne*, "being current," was used in connection with the name of the cyclic year. These words were, for brevity's sake, afterwards dropped, and in the course of time the sense, to express which

Appendix B they were used, was also forgotten, and the number came to be regarded as denoting the current year. So that what we do on this side of the country is that we use the *past* or *expired* year without knowing that it is the *past* year. And there are in the inscriptions instances of mistakes due to the circumstance that the real *past* year came to be regarded as the current year. Thus in No. 86 of the Pâli, Sanskrit, and old Kânarese inscriptions, Śaka 911 is given along with the cyclic year Vikṛiti. Now, according to the tables, the number of years that had expired before Vikṛiti was 912 and the current year was 913. This discrepancy is to be explained by the supposition that Śaka 912 which represented the years that had expired came to be thought of as the current year, just as we, on this side of the country, consider 1805 as the current year now, though it indicates the past year, and the writer of the inscription wishing to give the years that had expired before his current year, put them as 911. The same is the case with Nos. 27, 67, 115, 130, 224, and 284, the Śaka dates in which are 1444, 1084, 1430, 1453, 1114, and 1128, respectively, and are two years behind the current year as determined by the cyclic years given along with them. In some cases the Śaka dates are in advance of the *Samvatsara* or cyclic year by one year. Thus in the Vaṇi-Diṇḍori grant of Govinda III the Śaka date is 730 and the *Samvatsara Vyaya*, and in the Kânheri inscription of Amoghavarsha we have Śaka 775 and the *Prajâpati Samvatsara* [135]. Now the Śaka years immediately preceding Vyaya and *Prajâpati* were 728 and 773, while the current years were 729 and 774 respectively. This difference might be accounted for on the supposition that the *current* years 729 and 774 were from the usual custom understood to be

THE DEKKAN

237

Appendix B

past years and the writers of the documents desirous of giving the *current* years added 1 and put them down as 730 and 775 The date in No 79 of Pālī, Sanskrit, and old Kânarese inscriptions is three years behind the current Samvatsara, and that in No 228, four years, No 221 has 1113 for 1121, and No 246, 1492 for 1485 These must be considered to be mistakes

The Saka dates given in the preceding pages represent in *most* cases the years that had expired before the particular occurrences mentioned Thus "in 855" means *after 855 years of the Saka era had expired*

[136] APPENDIX C

Introduction to Hemâdri's Vratakhanda

Appendix C

In the critical notes D represents the MS in the Dekkan College Library, No 234 of A 1881-82, D 2 another recently added to the collection, S the MS belonging to the old Sanskrit College, No 657, Kh the MS belonging to Khâsivâle, and G the MS procured by Gangâdhar Sâstrî Dâtâr See Section XIV, first page, note 2

* श्रीगीपालमपारवैभवमवखच्छन्दलौलालय
 सान्द्रस्निग्धतमालकोमलदलश्यामाभिरानाकृतिम् ।
 कूजङ्कोकिलकामिमौकलरवप्रोहसिगीपाङ्गमा-
 गौतस्कीतपविचिचिचरितज्ञातं ममस्कुर्महे ॥ १ ॥
 सन्धीलरकमनीयकान्तिसरसीमध्ये विबुधप्रभं
 सारासारविचारचारुमनसा हंसेन संसेवितम् ।
 नित्यानन्दपरागसङ्गसुभगे वन्दारुहन्दारक-
 १ २
 श्रेणीमङ्गलमनङ्गवैरिषरण्याम्भीजद्वयं पातु व ॥ २ ॥

* These two stanzas exist only in a mutilated form in S and D 2, but they occur fully in D and Kh which contain the shorter Praśasti. In G, which contains both the Praśastis mixed together, they occur at the head of the shorter one, so that they appear to belong to the latter rather than to the other

१ सङ्ग for मङ्ग D Kh २ न for व D Kh

Râjaprasasti I

१
 जौयाभूतमभूतसर्गसमयाविर्भावसभाषणा-
 २
 तुष्यत्तत्त्वभुजङ्गपुङ्गवशिर श्रेणीशतैर्बन्धित ।
 कल्पान्तीपरमेषु नाभिकमले प्रोद्दामसामस्वर-
 सैरोच्चारोपचारपाण्डितविधिव्याघूतनिद्रो हरि ॥ १ ॥

१ जायाम् ० S जीवम् ० G २ ० द्रव्य ० S तुल्य G

अस्ति प्रशस्तं पुरुषोत्तमस्य शय्यागृहं क्षीरमयं पयोधिः ।

यदीयपीयूषपरसायनेन खर्लोक्तभाजामजरामरत्वम् ॥ २ ॥

संतानचिन्तानाणिकामधेनुकल्पद्रुमश्रीजगन्मैकहृतो ।

सिन्धोरमुष्मादुदमुदमन्दमिच्छन्दमानामृतविन्दुरिन्दुः ॥ ३ ॥

ततस्तनुर्जं विबुधप्रधानं बुधं सुधादीधितिरप्यसूत ।

बभूव तस्मादयं चक्रवर्ती पुरुषवा पृथ्वपथानुवर्ती ॥ ४ ॥

अभजत जमिमिच्छादायुरायुं प्रजामां
नघुषपदमिदामं ज्योतिरासौत्ततोपि ।

[137] नृपतिरयं ययाति स्थातिमानप्यमुष्मा

दयमपि यदुमूर्तिं कौर्तिमाविशकार ॥ ५ ॥

यदीरदोषविशदयंशोभिरभिषोभित
अन्ववायं स एवायमवाप यदुर्वशताम् ॥ ६ ॥

ततः क्लोटा तस्मादजनिं हञ्जिनीवानपि नृप-

क्षतो जज्ञे राज्ञः क्षितिपतिरिह स्थाहित इति ।

शृङ्गकुसुमपुत्रं समभवदधो विचरथ इ-
त्यतो जातः स्थातः स क्लिप्तः शशविन्दुर्नरपतिः ॥ ७ ॥

ततः पृथुशवा वीरस्तदनन्तरमन्तरः ।

ततः सुयज्ञ उग्रना सितेयुरिति च क्रमात् ॥ ८ ॥

सुनुसस्य मरुत इत्यनुपमं प्रोद्दामदोर्विक्रम-

स्तस्मात्कम्बलवर्हिर्दुष्टज्वलयश्च प्रक्षालितश्चातख ।

एतस्मादुदियाय रुक्मकवचस्तस्मात्पराजिगृह्य-

स्तस्माद्भूरितुरगमेघसुकुतो राजाजनि ज्जामय ॥ ९ ॥

ततो विदर्भं क्रथकुन्तिहृषिनिहृत्तिर्संज्ञां परतो दशार्हः ।

ज्योमा च भीमूत इति क्रमेण जाता मरुन्दा विकृतिश्च वीरः ॥ १० ॥

तदनु भीमरथं पृथिवीपतिर्नवरथश्च ततो रघिर्ना वरः ।

दशरथः शकुनिश्च करग्निरित्युपदिशन्ति पुराणपरायणा ॥ ११ ॥

१ ०मानो G सानो S २ प्रतापं for प्रधानं G ३ र वा० for पथा०
S D2 ४ जल S D2 जसि G for जनि ५ मूर्ति S D2 मूर्ति G
६ स्थाहित S स्थाहित G ७ यथा S G ८ मेधि S G ९ ज्योमाह S
ज्योमाय G वोमाह D 2

- १
देवराजस्त श्रीमान्देवसेवस्तो मधु ।
- २
तत कुसुमो राजा पुरुषोत्तमः कमादमुत् ॥ १२ ॥
- ३ ४
अथायुरासीदथ सात्वतीभुदथाश्वकीष्माहजमामर्षज ।
- ५
विदुरधन्मत्परतोपि गुरुराशि प्रतिषथ इति चित्तीग ॥ १३ ॥
- यमुवाथ स्वर्धभीज्मत्तोपि रुदिकीभवत् ।
असूत सोपि धमाया राजानं देयसीदुपम् ॥ १४ ॥
- निम्निगनि शेषितवेरिपुत्रस्त चित्ति पाखयति य गुर ।
ततोपि राजा वसुदेवनामा यो विश्वेत्तीरपि देतुरासीत् ॥ १५ ॥
- हन्तारहन्तारकहन्दमालिमन्दारमाखामुरभी कृतादि ।
- ६
नासीदमुष्मासुरावतारभारापदाराय पुरा सुरारि ॥ १६ ॥
- [138] यमूय प्रगुन्न किल कुसुमधन्वा मधुरिपो-
मिन्योकोपीरोसी तनयमनिरुद्धं प्रमुपुवे ।
- ७
ततोभुभरपचपणनिपुर्गमं च मद्रसा
- ८
परिष्कुञ्जन्वज गतमरसस्य प्रादरभवत् ॥ १७ ॥
- तन्वय मुनु प्रतिवाहुरासीद्दासीकृतप्रापतिचक्रवाल ।
- ९
ततोपि मसाडभवरमुवाह प्राप्त सोय अतुरस्तनूजान् ॥ १८ ॥
- तेन त मार्धभौमेन तनया विनयान्विता ।
विमल्य वसुधाचक्र चक्रिरे प्रथिवीधरा ॥ १९ ॥
- १०
यदाविभागं वसुधामर्षया तेषां तदा पालयतां चतुरा ।
दृष्ट्वाहो दिशि दक्षिणया प्रमूर्धमूय प्रथमारकभीयान् ॥ २० ॥

१ २रात D 2 २ नाम for राजा G ३ सत्वतो D 2
४ ५सक्या G S ५ So both MSS., also D 2 But there
must be a mistake The name of Śūra's son गोवि is dis-
guised as राशि Perhaps the reading is गुरजोदी ६ पुरा सुरारि
S पुरारि D 2 ७ स for त्व D 2 ८ परिष्कुञ्जन्वज S, G totally
incorrect and there is a lacuna D 2 has यमु for यम of
S १ The Purāṇic genealogy ends here Subāṇ, 17-
eer, is there called Suchāru १० दायवता D 2

सर्वेपि पूर्वे मधुराधिनाया कृपादितो दारवतोयराप्ते ।
सुवाहुमुनारु दक्षिणायाप्रशासिनी यादवधश्वोरा ॥ २१ ॥

तत स राजा निजराजधानीमधिष्ठित श्रीमगरं गरीय ।
मभि मुते सेलपचन्द्रमस्य यत्संज्ञया सेलपटेशमाह ॥ २२ ॥

एव धाडियमा महीपतिमयमस्य यमूव भिल्लम ।

१ २
पञ्चमिह ततोपि राजगिमदनु प्रादुरभरस वादुनि ॥ २३ ॥

३
जने धाडियमस्त प्रतिभटप्रापामकालानल-

मप्रादाविरभरमुतविभवा भता मूषो भिल्लम ।

एतप्राप्तदमा नहानिधिरसौ श्रीवेसुगिर्गञ्जवान्

४
इत्ता मोपभुञ्जोमसाममुहदा तत्तादमुदजुन ॥ २४ ॥

पञ्चसमाविष्टतदामवारि प्रभुतइत्ताधितदामवारि ।

तत स राजा विरराज राजद्रियो विलासैजंतराजराज ॥ २५ ॥

पामोदिनामो नृपतरमुपारस भिल्लम पालवितोरुकीर्ति ।

५
स वादुनि मादुगिरा कनीना नोवैकपाव भवति स तत्तान् ॥ २६ ॥

६
ततो मर्छा महीपाल पालयामास वेसुनि ।

७
महत्तमोयदुहामधामसामन्तसतति ॥ २७ ॥

ततोपि नृपभिल्लम समरसोमभीनक्रिया-

निरगेलभुजागेलायुगल लिलालालय ।

[139] तत समदमेदिनीपतिपतद्रभद्रवत

८
प्रतापप्रिखिलदितधिजगदद्रव्य सेलप ॥ २८ ॥

९
समुहतो येन महामुजेन दिपा विमर्दात्परमर्दिदेव ।

आप्रापि पालुक्कुलप्रदीप कन्याणराजोपि स एव येन ॥ २९ ॥

१ राजगिमदुत D २ २ स वादुनि S सुवाहुदुष G ३ This is the reading of S, D २ and G probably for धाडियस But the name according to Pandit Bhagvānlāl's grant was धाडियप ४ S and G have a wrong and unintelligible reading here ५ पाव S पावे G for पाव ६ The visarga is dropped in S and G ७ संहत्त D २ ८ S G have सधित विजग ९ समुहतो D २

परमदेव स ततो यमन विपद्भूनेवधमासुहृदौ ।

प(०) रमदेनेव रुपां चयेन यस्य प्रतापेन चिर व्यरागि ॥ १० ॥

तस्मादनन्तरममन्त्रमुजप्रताप श्रीपतिपति समभवत्स ॥ मिंदराज ।

तस्यानुजन्मदनु भुवनं वनीयानवायता तिजगतीविजयी स राजा ॥ ११ ॥
सुहृदपुरारसमातीय कर्पूरतिलक गजम् ।

स कर्पूरतं पूर्णमकरोरपररुदिन ॥ १२ ॥

तस्मादप्रतिमस्तोभुव्यामिधंयम चित्ते ।
उदञ्चयत अभारिर्दिदोऽपुचण्डिमा ॥ १३ ॥

यामाय सय सतिवासद्विती श्रीपर्वविटं नगरं विपुला ।

अद्यापि विनोदकलममिपालादमुद्रमातृघटा दृष्टेय ॥ १४ ॥
तस्मादमरगाद्रेय मयभव भुव पति ।
अपारिन्दत गाविन्दराज सागाव्यस पदम् ॥ १५ ॥

१०

११

ततो मलमिप्योभुद्रूपामोमरममगि ।
अय कानीयवामाल पातयामास मिदिनीम् ॥ १६ ॥
महोपनेमाल विद्याय पयान् गुणानुरक्ता यदुधगलज्जो ।
श्रीमिपत्तय तत पितृव्यमयाजरागदुजमाकगाम ॥ १७ ॥

१२

१३

य श्रीवर्जमासमाट नगरं श्रीपतिपतिगलात्
य प्रत्यङ्कमुभत य समर दुष्ट व्यजट अणात् ।

१ ततो for ततो S G २ Here S ends, and the following is based on G and D 2, of which the former is, as I have already observed, an extremely incorrect manuscript. ३ प्रताप G ४ मदि मिदि G ५ This word in G must be some mistake as it has no significance here. D 2 has नयाम् which also is a mistake. ६ नदिन for मदिन G ७ G has मुदिन ८ मदिनाम ९ मदिनाद in G १० अद्यापि D 2 ११ मुपाति D 2 १२ यम, नर १३ १० म D 2 for य १३ १४ यामात् for यामात् G

यो वा मङ्गलवेष्टक चित्तिपतिं श्रीनिक्षणं जघ्निवान्
 कल्याणश्रियमप्यवाप्य विदधे यो ह्यसुलेश व्यसु ॥ ३८ ॥

[140] स दक्षिकामण्डलमण्डयित्रीमकम्पस परप्रभवेर्विलासे ।

चक्रे पुरं देवगिरिं गिरौश्रपसादस सादितदिवाशलि ॥ ३९ ॥
 तदनु मदनमूर्तिं कार्त्तिकीचन्द्रसाम्-

दुनिविशदयशोभि श्रीमिताशावकाश ।
 अभवदवनिपासो जेवपाल कराल
 प्रहरणरणरङ्गसुहृदसुहृ स्वर्ग ॥ ४० ॥

दीक्षित्वा रणरङ्गदेवयजने प्रोदस्तशस्त्रसुव
 श्रेयोभिर्जगतीङ्गुतवता येन प्रतापानल ।
 तिष्ठन्नाधिपते पशोर्विशसन रौद्रस्य रौद्राकृते
 कृत्वा पूरुषमेधयश्चविचिमा खम्बस्त्रीलोकीजय ॥ ४१ ॥

तस्मादभूदभिनवस्मरचारमूर्तिं
 कीर्त्तिं पद स किल सिद्धदेवमूप ।
 सद्दण्डोद्युगलगतितधेरिवोर-

सीमन्तिनीवदनकैरवचण्डभानु ॥ ४२ ॥
 येनानीयत सप्तवारणघटा मञ्जलमूभिभूत
 कङ्कलादधनीपतेरपङ्कता येनाधिराजश्रिय ।
 येन चोद्योभदर्जुमोपि बलिना नीत कथाशेषता
 येनोद्दामभुजेन भोजनृपति कारालुटुस्वीकृत ॥ ४३ ॥

यद्रभागिरिकेसरौ विनिहता खञ्जीधर, आपति-
 यंहाहावलिभि प्रसन्न रुद्धे धाराधराधीश्वर ।

७ १ वक्षिण for विक्षिण G २ G has वसु and D 2 व्यस for व्यसु
 ३ In the MSS we have प्रसादमासादित० ४ G has विकाश
 for चवकाश ५ रणरगस्तगदुत्तग D 2 ६ तल्लिंग in G ७ रौद्रस्य
 ought to be रुद्रस्य unless the son of Rudradeva is meant
 ८ कीर्त्ति for मूर्ति D 2 ९ This line is thus written in G
 सीमन्तिनोदनकैरवचण्डभासान्, also in D 2 except त् for last न्
 १० यङ्गारिग G ११ विनिहता G

३

जाले मण्डितदण्डकापरिसरः श्रीसेवणाख्या परं
देशः पेशववशमूपणवचीमाधुर्यधुर्याकृति ।
तस्मिन्द वगिरि पुरो विजयते वेलोव्यसारशिया

४

विश्रान्ति सुरशालिशैलशिवरस्परिणुसौधावलि ॥ १८ ॥
जगतथीगीतगुणगानि शास्ता समस्तावन्मण्डलस्य ।
श्रीमानिमामन्वयाराजधानी सायं मङ्गादेवश्या विभर्ति ॥ २० ॥
कुर्वन्निभूतिविभक्तारिनामसमश्रियम् ।
अधितिष्ठति रमाटिरिमा विदुधवाभव ॥ २१ ॥
सा स पत्तदिन यशा मलमिदं सायं प्रतापो मङ्गा-
मर्कक प्रचिदीभूतो भुवि मङ्गादेवस्य लाकाकरम् ।

५

६

यस्य श्रीकरणाधिप स्वयमयं रमाटिमूर्ति पर
प्रौढप्रा तमवधयमानविलसदशो भृशं श्रीभते ॥ २१ ॥

इति राजप्रशस्ति ॥

१ सेवणाख्या D सेवणाख्या Kh The middle letter of the name in G looks somewhat like उ but there is little question that the copyist had उ before him and made it appear like उ by producing the nether curve and making its end touch the knot of उ ४ अर्धान् D ५ तस्य D २ ६ अहं for अय D २

P 32 n 17 For D R Bhandarkar who agrees in this conclusion, see *Jour Bo As Soc*, Vol XXIII pp 69—71 and *Ind Ant*, 1918, pp 152-153 For a different view, see R D Banerji, *Jour R As Soc*, 1917, p 279 & ff and H C Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, pp 311—313

Pp 33-34 The correct form of the name Sakasena is Siri-Sâta,—D R Bhandarkar, *Ind Ant*, 1918, pp 155-156 For another inscription of Gautamî Yajña-śrî-Sâtakarni, see G Bühler, *Ep Ind*, Vol I p 95 f, and N G Majumdar, *Jour Beng As Soc* (NS), Vol XVI p 328 & Pl Two more Sâtavâhana inscriptions have been since published, one by Sten Konow, *Zeit Deut Morg Ges*, Vol LXII p 592 and the other by V S Sukthankar, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIV p 155

Pp 34-35 For the different views about the family of the princes who issued the coins found at Kolhâpur, see *Ind Ant*, 1920, p 31 & ff

P 36 & n 23 For the correct reading and interpretation of the coin, see E J Rapson, *Jour R As Soc*, 1905, p 797 & ff

P 42 & ff For the Kshatrapa rule in the Dekkan and the restoration of the Sâtavâhana empire set forth in Section VI, read also D R Bhandarkar's *Dekkan of the Sâtavâhana* in *Ind Ant*, 1918, pp 69-78 and 149-156, and H C Ray Chaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, p 305 & ff

P 49 & n 8 As regards Sâtakarni of the Girnar Inscription (*Ep Ind*, Vol VIII pp 44, l 12), see the various views set forth in *Jour Bo As Soc*, Vol XXIII p 66 & ff

P 51 & ff As to the Purâna texts relating to the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty, see F E Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p 35 & ff For comments on the texts, see V A Smith and S M Edwardes' *Early History of India*, p 230 & ff

burgesses of Perigere Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIV p 190

(2) Ś 609 —Jejurī (Poona Dist, Bombay Presidency) Plates of Vinayāditya (9th regnal year) Ed by D R Bhandarkar, *Ep Ind* Vol XIX p 63

(3) Ś 617 —Pātoḍā (Punjab) Plates of Vinayāditya (14th regnal year) Noticed by D R Bhandarkar, *Ind Ant*, 1911, p 240

(4) Ś 625 —Rāygaḍ (Kolaba Dist, Bombay Presidency) Plates of Vijayāditya (8th regnal year) Ed by K B Pathak, *Ep Ind*, Vol X p 15

(5) Ś 672 —Kendūr (Poona Dist, Bombay Presidency) Plates of Kīrtivarman (II) (6th regnal year) Ed by K B Pathak, *Ep Ind*, Vol IX p 202

P 96 For a more detailed history of the Arab invasion see p 20 & ff of the *Gurjara-Pratihāras* by R C Majumdar, in *Jour Dept Letters* (Cal Univ), Vol X

P 106 ff For epigraphic records connected with the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa, see Nos 53—107 of F Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India* Some of the inscriptions published thereafter are

(1) Ś 690 —Talegaon (Poona Dist, Bombay Presidency) Plates of Kṛishnarāja (I) Noticed by D R Bhandarkar, PRAS WC, 1913, p 54 Ed by Sten Konow, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIII p 279

Mentions his son Prabhutunga Govinda (II)

(2) Ś 694 —Bhāṇḍak (Chanda Dist, C P) Plates of Kṛishnarāja (I) Ed by V S Sukthankar, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIV p 123

(3) Ś 697 —Pimparī (West Khandesh Dist, Bombay Presidency) Plates of Dhārāvarsha-Dhruvarāja Ed by K B Pathak, *Ep Ind*, Vol X p 85

(4) Ś 701 —Dhulia (East Khandesh Dist, Bombay Presidency) spurious (?) Plates of Suvarṇavarsha Pratāpāsīla Karkarāja, son of Dhruvarāja,

younger brother of Prabhūtarsha (-Govinda II) to whose reign it refers itself

(5) Ś 715 —Daulatabad (Nizam's State) Plates of Samarāvaloka Śankaragaṇa, son of Nanna, who was brother of Kṛṣṇarāja (I) and son of Karkarāja Charter issued with the consent of Kalivallabha-Narendradeva (Dhruva-Nirupama) Ed by D R Bhandarkar, *Ep Ind*, Vol IX p 195

(6) Ś 793 —Sanjān (Thana Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of Amoghavarsha (I) Ed by D R Bhandarkar, *Ep Ind* Vol XVIII p 243 & ff

(7) Ś 818 —Kunimellihalli (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Mahāsāmantādhipati Karna-vallaba who seems to be the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II -Akālavārsha Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 277 ff

(8) Ś 851 —Kaḷas (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Govinda IV Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIII p 326 ff

(9) Ś 868 —Tuppād-kurhatti (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa Akālavārsha-Kṛṣṇa III Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIV p 364 ff

(10) Ś 868 —Kyāsanūr (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of king Kannara (the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III —Akālavārsha) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 280 ff

(11) Kyāsanūr (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Kandaravallabha, i.e. Kannara or Kṛṣṇa III Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 283

(12) Ś 884 —Devīhosūr (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Akālavārsha Kannara-deva (the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 285-286

(13) Kyāsanūr (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay Presi-

dency) Inscription of the time of Nityavarsha-Amoghavarsha who is the same as Nityavarsha-Khoṭṭiga Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 284-285

P 112 & n 19 For a detailed discussion and historical importance of the passage from the Jaina Harivamśa, see J F Fleet, *Ep Ind*, Vol VI p 195 and ff

P 136 For the epigraphic records connected with the Later Chālukyas of Kalyānī, see Nos 140-274 of F Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India* Some of the inscriptions of this dynasty published thereafter are

(1) Ś 929 —Hoṭṭūr (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Akalankacharita-Iṣvabedanga Chālukya Satyāśraya Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 74 ff

(2) Ś 393 —Sudī (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalladeva, i.e. Chālukya Vikramāditya V Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV p 75-77

(3) Ś 933 —Ālūr (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamallavikramāditya V Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 27 ff

(4) Ś 950 —Kuṣṇnūr (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Jagadekamallajayasimha (II) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV p 329 ff

(5) Ś 963 —Śirūr (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Jagadekamalla i.e. Jayasimha II Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV pp 334-335

(6) Laśmeshwar (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Jagadekamalla II Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 44 ff

(7) Ś 959 —Hoṭṭūr (Dhārwar Dist , Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Jayasimha (II) Jagadekamalla Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* , Vol XVI p 75 ff

(8) Ś 960 —Hulgūr (Dhārwar Dist , Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Jagadekamalla (Jayasimha II) and the Yādava Kanhara Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* , Vol XVI p 332 ff

(9) Yewūr (Gulbarga Dist , Hyderabad) Inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Jagadekamalla, i.e Jayasimha II Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* , Vol XII p 269

(10) Miraj (Miraj State, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha II Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* , Vol XII p 309 ff

(11) Ś 977 —Bankāpur (Dhārwar Dist , Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Chālukya emperor Trailokyamalla-(Somesvara I) and the Kadamba *Mahāmandalesvara* Harikesari-deva Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* , Vol XIII p 168 ff

(12) Ś 973 —Sudī (Dhārwar Dist , Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Chālukya Trailokyamalla (Somesvara I) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* , Vol XV pp 77-80

(13) Ś 976 —Sudī (Dhārwar Dist , Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of the Chālukya Trailokyamalla (Somesvara I) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* , Vol XV pp 80-83

(14) Ś 980 —Sudī (Dhārwar Dist , Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Someśvara I Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* , Vol XV pp 83-85

(15) Ś 981 —Sudī (Dhārwar Dist , Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of the Chālukya Trailokyamalla Someśvara I Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* , Vol XV pp 85-94

(16) Ś 975 —Mulgund (Dhārwar Dist , Bombay

Presidency) Inscription of the time of Trailokyamalla
i.e. Someśvara I Ed by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind*,
Vol XVI p 53 ff

(17) Ś 974 —Nīralgī (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay
Presidency) Inscription of the time of Trailokyamalla-
Āhavamalla i.e. Sōmēsvara I Ed by L. D. Barnett,
Ep Ind, Vol XVI p 66 ff

(18) Ś 988 —Hoṭṭūr (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay
Presidency) Inscription of the time of Trailokyamalla-
Āhavamalla (Someśvara I) and Mahāmaṇḍalesvara
Jemarasa Ed by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI
p 82

(19) Tīlvaḷḷī (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay Presidency)
Inscription of the time of Trailokyamalla (Someśvara
I) Ed by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI
pp 337-338

(20) Ś 966 and 1067 —Hūhī (Belgaum Dist,
Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of
Āhavamalla (Someśvara I) and Jagadekamalla (II)
Ed by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII
pp 172-3

(21) Ś 991 and 997 —Sudī (Dhārwar Dist,
Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of
Bhuvanaikamalla (Someśvara II) Ed by L. D.
Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV pp 94-96

(22) Ś 996 —Sudī, (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay
Presidency) Inscription of the time of Bhuvana-
kamalla (Someśvara II) Ed by L. D. Barnett,
Ep Ind, Vol XV pp 96-100

(23) Ś 993 and 994 —Gāwarwāḍ (Dhārwar Dist,
Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of
Bhuvanaikamalla, i.e. Someśvara II and Mahā-
maṇḍalesvara Lakshmarasa (Lakshma or Lakshmana)¹
Ed by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV p 337 ff

(24) Ś 993 and 994 —Annigeri (Dhārwar Dist,
Inscription of the time of Someśvara II Ed by
L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV pp 347-348

(25) Ś 606 07 —Nirālgi (Dhārwar Dist , Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of the Chālukya king Bhuvanākamalla (Somavara II) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* , Vol XVI p 68 ff

(26) Nāḍagundi (Dhārwar Dist , Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla—(Vikramāditya VI) and the Kadamba prince Tailapa II Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* Vol XIV p 12

(27) Iṣṭāgi (Dhārwar Dist Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of (Western Chālukya) Vikramāditya VI Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* , Vol XIII p 36 ff

(28) Narendra (Dhārwar Dist , Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI and the Kadamba Mahamandalesvara Jayakesin II Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* , Vol XIII p 298 ff

(29) Mutgi (Bijāpur Dist Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of (Western Chālukya) Tribhuvanamalla (ie Vikramāditya VI) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* , Vol XV p 25 ff

(30) Ś 1006 —Sudi (Dhārwar Dist , Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla vallabha (Vikramāditya VI) Ed by L D Barnett *Ep Ind* , Vol XV pp 100-103

(31) Ś 1006 —Sudi (Dhārwar Dist , Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla vallabha (Vikramāditya VI) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* , Vol XV pp 103-105

(32) Sudi (Dhārwar Dist , Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind* , Vol XV pp 105 ff

Of the 38th year of his reign

(33) Gadag (Dhārwar Dist , Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of the Chālukya Vikramāditya

VI Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV
p 348 ff

Of the 23rd year of his reign

(34) Lakshmeshwar (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla i e Vikramāditya VI Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI pp 31 ff

Of the 27th year of his reign

(35) Lakshmeshwar (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI and his feudatory Kadamba Taila III Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 35 ff

(36) Lakshmeshwar (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya VI Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 58 ff

(37) Ś 999 —Hulgūr (Dhārwar Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI p 329 ff

(38) Hūli (Belgaum Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII p 178 ff

Of the 7th year of his reign

(39) Ś 1019 —Hūli (Belgaum Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII p 182 ff

(40) Hūli (Belgaum Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) Ed by L D Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII p 189

Of the 29th year of his reign

(41) Ś 1029 —Hūli (Belgaum Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvana-

malladeva i.e. Vikramāditya VI Ed by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII p 196

(42) Hūli (Belgaum Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI Ed by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII pp 199-201

Of the 32nd year of his reign

(43) Hūli (Belgaum Dist, Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Tribhuvanamalladeva (Vikramāditya VI) Ed by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII pp 201-205

(44) Nūlgunda (Bellary Dist, Madras Presidency) Inscription of the time of Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya VI Ed by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XII pp 150-155

(45) Yēwūr (Gulbarga Dist, Hyderabad) Inscription of the time of Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI Ed by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol XII p 274 ff

(46) Yēwūr (Gulbarga Dist, Hyderabad) Inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya VI Ed by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind* Vol XII p 329 ff

(47) Yēwūr (Gulbarga Dist, Hyderabad) Inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya VI Ed by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind* Vol XII p 332

(48) Yēwūr (Gulbarga Dist, Hyderabad) Inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI Ed by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind* Vol XII p 334

(49) Ś 1095 and 1103 —Kurgod (Bellary Dist, Madras Presidency) Inscription of the Western Chālukya Somesvara [IV] Tribhuvanamalla Ed by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind* Vol XIV p 265 ff

P 160 & ff For the epigraphic records connected with the Kalachuris of Kalvāna, see Nos 275-300 of F. Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India* Some of the inscriptions of this dynasty published thereafter are

THE KALACHURIS

(1) Hūli (Belgaum Dist., Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of Kalachurva king Tribhuvanamalladeva (Bijjala) Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol. XVIII pp. 206-212

(2) Ś 108; — Hūli (Belgaum Dist., Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of King Bijjala Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol. XVIII p. 212 ff

(3) Yēwūr (Gulbarga Dist., Hyderabad) Inscription of the time of the Kalachurva king Rāyamurāri-Sovideva Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol. XII p. 336

(4) Ittigi (Dhārwar Dist., Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of the Kalachurva king Samudradeva Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol. XIII p. 50 ff

(5) Sudī (Dhārwar Dist., Bombay Presidency) Inscription of the time of the Kalachurva Samudra Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol. XV p. 107 ff

(6) Yēwūr (Gulbarga Dist., Hyderabad) Inscription of the time of the Kalachurva king Samudradeva Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol. XII pp. 338-339

(7) Mutgi (Bīgewādi taluk of Bijapur) Inscription of the time of Kalachurva Bhallama Ed. by L. D. Barnett, *Ep Ind*, Vol. XV p. 32 ff

P. 205 & n. 60 Jñānadeva was a descendant (*sūta*) in the pupil's line, that is, really a disciple of Nityatmātha. At the conclusion of his work he says that Nityatmātha was a pupil of Gahvīmātha and that the latter was a pupil of Gorakshanātha who himself was a pupil of Matsvendranātha. If Jñānadeva's date was Śaka 1212 (= 1200 A.D.), Gorakshanātha has to be placed about the beginning of the 13th century A.D.

